

JOHNSONIAN GLEANINGS
BY ALEYN LYELL READE

PART II

FRANCIS BARBER
THE DOCTOR'S NEGRO SERVANT

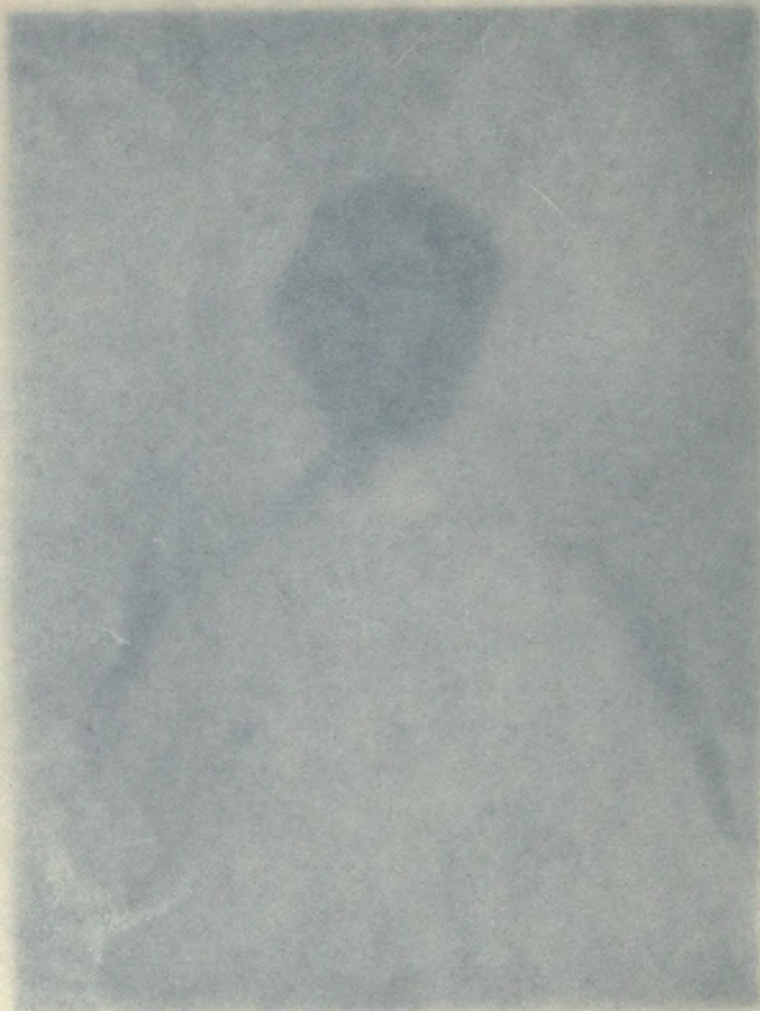
*"All knowledge is of itself of some value.
There is nothing so minute or inconsider-
able, that I would not rather know it
than not."*

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL, 14 APRIL 1775.

COMMONLY SUPPOSED TO BE FRANCIS BARBER.
PORTRAIT BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS OF A NEGRO.
FROM THE AUTHOR

See page 103.

300512-34
28-5-34



PORTRAIT BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS OF A NEGRO,
COMMONLY SUPPOSED TO BE FRANCIS BARBER.

See page 103.

JOHNSONIAN GLEANINGS

BY ALEYN LYELL READE

PART II

FRANCIS BARBER

THE DOCTOR'S NEGRO SERVANT

*"All knowledge is of itself of some value.
There is nothing so minute or inconsider-
able, that I would not rather know it
than not."*

JOHNSON TO BOSWELL, 14 APRIL 1775.

· PRIVATELY PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR
AT THE ARDEN PRESS · OSWALDESTRE HOUSE
NORFOLK STREET · STRAND · LONDON
M · DCCCC · XII

300512
28. 5 - 34

PR
3533
R4
pt.2

PREFACE

THIS account of Francis Barber aims at being exhaustive as regards references to him in contemporary biographies, memoirs, and published letters. Modern *réchauffés* of eighteenth century material are not noticed unless containing fresh references.

It is hoped that the piecing together of this rather fragmentary evidence into a continuous story, its analysis by chronological and other tests, and its amplification by independent research, will not be considered to have been an unworthy task. Though my constant object is rather to provide material for the student than agreeable entertainment for the general reader, yet it is possible that the present volume may, to some small extent, bridge the gulf that often separates dry research from human narrative. The unpublished letters from Barber, Boswell, and others of the Johnsonian circle, should increase its general interest. There must be few readers of *Boswell* who do not feel a generous curiosity as to the Doctor's humble negro servant, who won so warm a place in his affections, and who inherited almost all the modest fortune accumulated by a master more disposed to alms-giving than to laying-by.

And who can doubt that the Doctor would have rejoiced to read of the gospel zeal displayed by Frank's son; or that, could he return to-day, he would penetrate to the murky recesses of the Potteries and visit the humble descendants of that little negro boy who over a century and a half ago said good-bye for ever to his kindred in Jamaica, to exchange oppression under a tropical sun for liberty under dull English skies?

In order to make this and each future volume more worthy of a permanent place upon the shelves of my subscribers, as well as to render the elaborate system of indexing more effective, I have abolished the crowded page with double columns to which I was tied in Part I, and have also inau-

PREFACE

gured the use of a much better quality of paper. As in the case of Part I, 350 copies only have been printed, and the type is distributed.

It is my intention in Part III to deal closely with Johnson's boyhood, utilizing the vast store of more or less unassorted information I have already printed bearing upon his early years to amplify the narrative, and adding the results of much fresh research.

ALEYN LYELL READE.

*Park Corner, Blundellsands,
Nr Liverpool.*

8 April, 1912.

LIST OF PLATES

FRONTISPIECE: PORTRAIT BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS OF
A NEGRO, COMMONLY SUPPOSED TO BE FRANCIS
BARBER.

PLATE I. PHOTOGRAPH OF LETTER WRITTEN BY FRANCIS
BARBER TO BISHOP PERCY IN 1788. *To face p. 70*

PLATE II. PORTRAIT OF A NEGRO, SAID TO BE FRANCIS
BARBER BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE POS-
SESSION OF WILSON CREWDSON, ESQ. *To face p. 106*

LIST OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

JAMAICAN ORIGINS

Master and servant—The Bathursts of Jamaica—Colonel Bathurst and his retirement to Lincoln—Leaves Frank his freedom by will—The date of Frank's entering Johnson's service—The question of his age—His conversion to Christianity—Baptism not yet traced—Colonel Bathurst as a slave-owner.

pp. 1-8.

CHAPTER II

BOYHOOD

Sent to Barton School by Col. Bathurst—His master, the Rev. William Jackson—Servant to Dr. Bathurst—Enters Dr. Johnson's service—Johnson's need of a man-servant—Goes to serve a Cheapside apothecary—Returns to Johnson—Runs away to sea—Johnson's efforts to get him released—H.M.S. "Stag" and her voyagings—Frank discharged—Final return to Johnson's service.

pp. 9-14.

CHAPTER III

AT BISHOP'S STORTFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Frank and his black friends—Loved in Lincolnshire—Attends Johnson to Easton Mauduit—Goes to Bishop's Stortford School—Headmaster the Rev. Joseph Clapp—Mr. Clapp's death, and his successor—Status of the Grammar School—School removed to Windhill House—Another change in the headmastership—Johnson's interest in Frank's progress—Last days of the school—Frank returns to London—Mrs. Clapp—Anna Williams on Frank's education—Johnson's acquaintance with Bishop's Stortford.

pp. 15-24.

CHAPTER IV

UNOBTRUSIVE SERVICE

An historic dinner—Frank and Steevens's "Shakespeare"—Does not go to the Hebrides—Some trifling incidents—Frank's marriage—His wife at the Streatham dance—Hawkins's aspersions on her honour—Frank with Johnson at Ashbourne—Wants to read "Evelina"—Preserves Johnson's proof-sheets for Boswell—His exact duties—Johnson and negroes—Frank has a daughter—The question of her colour—Mrs. Siddons's visit—Mrs. Barber and her children join the Johnson household—Johnson's affection for Frank and its cause—Master and servant at prayers.

pp. 25-34.

CHAPTER V

HIS MASTER'S LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH

Johnson ill with dropsy—Begins to think of disposal of his fortune—Hawkins presses him to make a will—His condition grows worse—Hawkins prevails—Johnson's care for Frank's future—William Windham to protect Frank—Johnson makes another will—Frank's position secured—Incidents of the last few days—Fanny Burney's final visits—Miss Morris, to whom Johnson's last words were spoken: her family history—Frank with his master to the end—Attends the funeral in Westminster Abbey—"More Last Words of Dr. Johnson": a foolish satire.

pp. 35-48.

CHAPTER VI

INHERITS HIS MASTER'S FORTUNE

Hawkins condemns Johnson's bequest—Humphrey Heely's claims on Johnson—Miss Hawkins supports her father against Frank—Johnson's lunatic cousin, Elizabeth Herne—Hawkins holds back Johnson's watch—Porson's ironical version of the story—The watch and its history—Dr. Birkbeck Hill discovers a mare's nest—Hawkins and the diary—Johnsonian treasures we owe to Frank—The "Journey into North Wales"—Particulars of Frank's annuity from the Record Office—The wisdom of the bequest considered.

pp. 49-61

CHAPTER VII

RETIREMENT TO LICHFIELD

Frank and Strahan's apprentice—Hawkins's money advances to Frank—Miss Hawkins's picture of the negro—Bishop Percy's financial relations with him—Hawkins settles the accounts—Frank leaves London for Lichfield—Hears from Bennet Langton—Boswell writes to him for biographical assistance—Pressure put upon Hawkins—Frank's letter to Percy—Another draft from the Bishop—Frank's acknowledgment—Johnson's care for his education not altogether wasted—The negro's extravagance at Lichfield.

pp. 62-73.

CHAPTER VIII

LAST DAYS OF FRANK AND HIS WIFE

Frank visited at Lichfield by a "journalist"—Description of his appearance—His memories of Johnson—His affairs become more involved—Canon Bailye obtains Johnson's watch—Mrs. Barber's virtue—Bishop Jebb's account of the Barber relics in 1826—Canon Bailye and his recollections of Johnson—Dr. Burney wants to see Frank—Frank opens a school near Lichfield—His last illness—Death in Stafford Infirmary—Mrs. Barber starts a school in Lichfield—The Rev. T. S. Whalley visits her—Mrs. Piozzi and the pocket-book—Mrs. Barber uses "Tetty's" prayer-book—Her death in Stowe Street—The early miniature of Johnson.

pp. 74-85.

CHAPTER IX

FRANK'S SON AND THE EARLY METHODISTS

Samuel Barber a namesake of Johnson's—His early life—Becomes servant to Gregory Hickman, the Burslem surgeon—Johnson's family connexions with the Hickmans—Relics of the Doctor acquired by Gregory Hickman from Barber—Samuel Barber's youthful vanities—Methodist revival at Burslem—Samuel conscience-stricken—Spiritual torture—Joins the Methodists—Supports the "Camp Meetings" of Bourne and Clowes—Expelled from the old Methodist body—Marries and settles at Tunstall—Local preacher for nineteen years—A good son and brother—His character and abilities—Last illness and death.

pp. 86-96.

CHAPTER X

FRANCIS BARBER'S DESCENDANTS

Frank's children enumerated—Samuel Barber's family—Recollections of Samuel's son by Kipling père—Frank's humble representatives in the Potteries.

pp. 97-102.

CHAPTER XI

SUPPOSED PORTRAITS OF FRANCIS BARBER

The accepted portrait of Barber by Reynolds—Its pedigree—Edridge's drawing from it—Proof lacking of the popular identification—Sir Joshua's own black servant and his portrait—The negro in Reynolds's portrait of the Marquis of Granby—The supposed Brighton portrait of Barber, attributed to Reynolds—History of the Brighton portrait—S. C. Hall's wordy "opinion" of its merits and authenticity—General review of the evidence on the whole subject—Tomkins's drawing of Dr. Johnson and Barber.

pp. 103-109.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PART I

pp. 110-115.

FRANCIS BARBER, THE DOCTOR'S NEGRO SERVANT.

CHAPTER I

JAMAICAN ORIGINS

Master and servant—The Bathursts of Jamaica—Colonel Bathurst and his retirement to Lincoln—Leaves Frank his freedom by will—The date of Frank's entering Johnson's service—The question of his age—His conversion to Christianity—Baptism not yet traced—Colonel Bathurst as a slave-owner.

WE can scarcely ask for more pleasantly convincing proof of Dr. Johnson's real benevolence of disposition than the affectionate care with which, for full thirty years, he watched over the welfare of his humble negro servant, Francis Barber. His unique position in literary history, and the extraordinary powers by which he maintained his supremacy unquestioned as the intellectual leader of a group of the most highly and variously gifted persons of the age, who all live before us in Boswell's pages, make the first and strongest claim upon our curiosity. But when we grow tired of the society of the great—when an inevitable mental reaction persuades us that mere brains will not weigh in the balance against character—then it is a comfort to retire from the intellectual rout into the quietude of the Doctor's home and see him as the staunch and long-suffering friend, the kindly and generous master, who did not hesitate humbly to kneel down and pray with his negro servant. Few, if any, of those whose lives are dedicated to mere domestic service can have acquired the fame which this simple-hearted "blacky" won by his long and unpretending devotion to Johnson's wants.

As every one at all acquainted with Dr. Johnson's earlier history knows, it was through his friend Dr. Bathurst that he acquired Francis

Barber as his servant. Boswell tells us that "Francis Barber was born in Jamaica, and was brought to England in 1750 by Colonel Bathurst, father of Johnson's very intimate friend, Dr. Bathurst."* Any proper account of Barber must therefore be prefaced by some particulars of the Bathursts, of whose history I could gain no information from printed sources, even the Colonel's Christian name being unrecorded in any of the countless volumes to which my researches have led me.

The name of Bathurst occurs in the records of Jamaica very soon after the settlement of the island under the English flag, during the period 1658-70.† John Bathurst was Member of Assembly for St. Mary in 1679, 1691 and 1706;‡ Major Richard Bathurst was Member of Assembly for St. Mary in 1695, 1698 and 1702, for Westmoreland in 1709, for St. James in 1716, and for St. Thomas-in-the-Vale in 1722.§ Dr. Johnson's friend was the son of Richard Bathurst, proprietor of the Orange River estate in the parish of St. Mary. There was one John Bathurst, who had died as far back as 1693, who had also owned the Orange River estate,|| but his relationship to Richard Bathurst is not known.

Richard Bathurst, dubbed "Colonel" by Boswell, and "Cap-

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 239, footnote. See also Murphy's *Essay on the Life and Genius of Dr. Johnson*, 1792, p. 56; Robert Anderson's *Life of Johnson*, 3rd ed., 1815, p. 179, footnote; and Hawkins's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, 1787, p. 326.

† Not knowing to whom it would be best to apply for information concerning Jamaica records, I wrote for advice to Mr. John S. Udal, F.S.A., of Antigua, Chief Justice of the Leeward Islands, a frequent correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, who kindly forwarded my letter to his friend Mr. Justice Beard, of Kingston, Jamaica. Mr. Beard, again, put my queries into the hands of Mr. Frank Cundall, F.S.A., Secretary of the Institute of Jamaica at Kingston, who not only made search himself for particulars of the Bathursts but also enlisted the expert assistance of Mr. George Fortunatus Judah, record agent, of Saint Jago de la Vega. Mr. Judah spared no pains in his endeavour to answer my inquiries, and I owe him especial thanks for the detailed information with which he generously supplied me.

‡ Possibly it was John Bathurst of Orange River, shortly to be mentioned, who was the Member in 1679 and 1691; and another John in 1706.

§ Information of Mr. Frank Cundall.

|| Information of Mr. Judah. The following is an abstract of his will:—

JOHN BATHURST, of St. Andrew's, Holborn, co. Middlesex, Esq. Will dated 3 Nov. 1692. Whereas I have an estate in Jamaica worth £400 per annum, I confirm the settlement already made thereof and charge the same with an annuity of £50 a year to my wife Anne, over and above an annuity of £100 a year settled by deed dated 5 Feb. 1686/7, to be paid to her in London; also £400. To her daur. Elizabeth, wife of Samuel Stevens,

tain" by Hawkins,* no doubt spent most of his life upon his Jamaica estates. Why he came to England to pass the last few years of his life, I have not discovered, but it is probable that financial troubles were the prime cause. At his death he is said by his son to have "left his affairs in total ruin."† His military title was purely a local one, showing his rank in the Jamaica Militia.‡ When he made his will,§

and her children, £100 among them. To her daur. Lydia, wife of William Selby, and her children, £150 among them. To my said wife, all my household goods in my dwelling house in Red Lyon Square, parish of St. Andrew, Holborn. The rest of my estate in Jamaica to my right heirs. Extrix., my said wife Anne. Signed, John Bathurst (*mark*). Wits., John Coughen, Sam^l Sankey, Mary Nix, Will. Dent. Proved 8 Mch. 1693/4, in P.C.C. [Box 47], by Anne Bathurst, the relict and executrix.

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 326

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 28.

‡ Information of Mr. Judah.

§ Mr. Judah sent me the following copy of this will taken from the exemplification in the Jamaica record office:—

"In the name of God Amen I Richard Bathurst of the Close of Lincoln in the County of Lincoln Gentleman being of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner following:—First I give devise and bequeath unto Peter Lely of the Close of Lincoln aforesaid Gentleman All my estate real and personal being within the Island of Jamaica in the West Indies or within the Kingdom of England To hold unto the said Peter Lely his heirs executors administrators and assigns In trust in the first place to sell and dispose of the same for the payment of all such Debts as I shall owe at the time of my death with interest for the same from such time until payment at the rate of five pounds in the hundred pounds by the year And also for the payment of the several legacys hereby bequeathed Also I give and bequeath unto Thomas Clark of the Close of Lincoln aforesaid Joiner fifty pounds over and above what I shall owe to him at my death as an acknowledgement of all the favours I have received from him Also I give unto Miss Sarah Clark daughter of the said Thomas Clark one hundred pounds for the trouble and hardship she has undergone thro' my not being able to pay her father what I owe him Also I give to Francis Barber a negroe whom I brought from Jamaica aforesaid into England his freedom and twelve pounds in money Also I give unto the said Peter Lely fifty pounds for the trouble he shall have in the Trust hereby in him reposed And I make the said Peter Lely executor of this my last Will and Testament. All the rest of my goods and chattels and personal estate I give unto my son Richard Bathurst In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal the twenty fourth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred and fifty four 1754. (signed) *Richard Bathurst*. Sealed, signed, published and declared to be the last Will and Testament of the Testator in the presence of us and of the said Testator, George Thompson, butcher in Lincoln; Joe Dakin, Henry Keep, servants to Mrs. Turner in Lincoln."

Mr. Judah adds that the probate discloses that Richard Bathurst, the son and residuary legatee, was a Bachelor in Physic. I find that admon., with the will annexed, was granted in P.C.C. [Glazier 216] on 14 Aug. 1756 to Richard Bathurst the son, Peter Lely, the sole exor. named in the will, having first renounced. This Peter Lely [1698-

on 24 April 1754, he described himself only as "gentleman," and as resident in the Close of Lincoln. He left his estate in Jamaica on trust to Peter Lely of the Close of Lincoln, gentleman, whom he appointed as his executor, to sell for the payment of his debts and a few legacies. To Thomas Clark, a joiner in the Close, he left £50 above what he owed him, in acknowledgment of all the favours he had received from him; while to Sarah Clark, the joiner's daughter, he left £100 for the trouble and hardship she had undergone through his not being able to pay her father what he owed him! The residue of his estate he left to his son Richard Bathurst, who apparently was, then at least, his only child.

But the clause of the will which has far the greatest interest for us is that in which he left "*to Francis Barber, a negroe whom I brought from Jamaica aforesaid into England, his freedom and twelve pounds in money.*" This fully confirms Boswell's account of Frank's origin; and the only questions that arise are in reference to the date of his being brought to England and of his entering Johnson's service. Boswell, as has been seen, ascribes the first event to 1750; but Hawkins, whose evidence in such details is not to be ignored, says that "Captain" Bathurst brought him over "soon after the decease of Mrs. Johnson,"* which occurred on 17 March 1752. Boswell says that

1761], of Lincoln, was a grandson of Sir Peter Lely, and had twenty children: see Burke's *Landed Gentry*, under "Lely of Framingham Hall."

Mr. Judah also says that there is (1) a power of attorney from Richard Bathurst of Lincoln, dated 19 Oct. 1754, to his son Richard Bathurst, Doctor in Physic, and two others in the parish of St. Mary, Jamaica; (2) a power of attorney, dated 14 June 1755, from Richard Bathurst, the son, of the parish of St. Catherine, in Jamaica (being bound on a voyage to Great Britain), to the Hon. James Watson, of the town and parish of Kingston, in which he recites the will of his "late father"; and (3) a power of attorney from Richard Bathurst, of the parish of St. Andrew, Jamaica, to William Forbes, of Kingston, to enter satisfaction on a mortgage.

In 1704 "Richard Bathurst" had patented to him 1,000 acres of land in St. Andrew, 600 in St. George, and 600 in St. Elizabeth.

No pedigree appears ever to have been worked out of the Jamaican Bathursts, and the individuals are hard to separate. Mr. Judah says that there is no will among the Island records of any Bathurst between that of one Judith Bathurst, widow, (dated 1720, proved 1722), and Richard in 1756; and no admon. of a Bathurst between 1692 and 1780. Judith, who was of St. Jago de la Vega, mentioned her sisters, Mary Aylmer and Catherine Aylmer, both of the same town.

An Edward Bathurst was Registrar in Chancery and Clerk of the Patents in Jamaica in 1751.

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 326.

Johnson's "faithful negro servant . . . came into his family about a fortnight after the dismal event," and so was able to assure the biographer that Johnson's "sufferings upon the death of his wife were severe, beyond what are commonly endured." In a footnote he explains that "the Colonel by his will left him his freedom, and Dr. Bathurst was willing that he should enter into Johnson's service, in which he continued from 1752 till Johnson's death. . . . So early and so lasting a connection was there between Dr. Johnson and this humble friend."* It has always been assumed that Frank did not enter Johnson's household until after Colonel Bathurst's death; yet when we find that the old planter did not even make his will until 24 April 1754 we are compelled to question this. Hawkins definitely states that "upon the decease of captain Bathurst, for so he was called, Francis went to live with his son, who willingly parted with him to Johnson."† He also states, at the same reference, that Johnson's decision to employ a "man-servant" was largely influenced by the "comparative affluence" to which he had been raised by the sale of his interest in *The Rambler* and by the payment he was receiving for articles in *The Adventurer*. Now *The Rambler* ceased to exist at the very time of Mrs. Johnson's death;‡ but his articles in *The Adventurer* did not begin until just a year later, in March 1753.§ So that, if Hawkins was strictly accurate in his statements, Frank could not have entered Johnson's household before that date. There seems no reasonable doubt, however, that Frank did become Johnson's servant in 1752. Not only does Boswell, as stated above, date the event "about a fortnight" after Mrs. Johnson's death; but he also quotes a statement made by Frank which he calls an "authentick and artless account" of the "great affliction" in which he found his master "recently after his wife's death."|| Perhaps Colonel Bathurst, not requiring his slave boy, or finding him hardly a passport to the good opinions of his neighbours in the Close of Lincoln, handed him over to his son, who then "willingly parted with him to Johnson."¶ It is clear

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 239.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 326.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 203.

§ *Ibid.* i., 252.

|| *Ibid.* i., 241.

¶ Murphy (*Essay*, 1792, p. 135) speaks of Frank as "formerly consigned to the

that the boy was a favourite with the Colonel: those qualities which won the regard and even the affection of Dr. Johnson must have been already displayed.

The question of Francis Barber's age is rather a puzzling one. The only definite evidence upon the point is provided by a correspondent of *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1793, who described him as then "about 48."* It is difficult to believe that he was really so young; and the same correspondent remarked that he appeared "aged and infirm." If the age is correct then we must place his birth about 1745, and assume that he was only about seven when he went into Johnson's service. It scarcely seems likely that a nigger boy of that age could have received and retained such clear and intelligent impressions of his master's circumstances and state of mind at the time, in addition to remembering the names and other particulars of numerous friends and acquaintances. Hawkins, as has just been seen, speaks of Johnson engaging Frank as a "man-servant," which shows that, in his opinion, the negro was not a mere child at the time. Moreover, as we shall see presently, Frank left Johnson in 1756 to serve an apothecary in Cheapside,† and in 1758 ran away to sea.‡ On the first occasion his master calls him "my boy," and on the second, "a Negro boy";§ yet the circumstances in either case suggest one older than eleven or thirteen. Those whom the Gods love die young; and it must be remembered that negroes remain "boys" until the utmost period of decrepit longevity. It is rather extraordinary, in this connexion, to consider that in 1788 Barber complains of labouring under the "infirmities attendant on age."|| However we may feel inclined to antedate

testator (Dr. Johnson) by his friend Dr. Bathurst." And Johnson himself, in 1759, said that he had been "given me by a Friend whom I much respect"; see p. 13.

* See p. 75.

† See pp. 11-12.

‡ See p. 12.

§ On "Tuesday 13 Jany. 1755" Johnson, writing to Lewis Paul in reference to a letter, says:—"If you send it me again, the child shall carry it." Dr. Hill suggests that the "child" was Barber. He also says that he has "adopted" Mr. Croker's "conjectural" date of 1756 for this letter (Birkbeck Hill's *Letters of Johnson*, i., 54). But Croker's date was hardly "conjectural"; he knew that Tuesday fell on 13 Jany. in 1756 and not in 1755, and that Johnson had simply made an error natural at the beginning of a new year, especially to those recently freed from the practice of ending the year on 24 March.

|| See p. 69.

his birth we cannot assign him years enough to justify this complaint in 1788.

Hawkins states that "Captain" Bathurst "arrived in England from Jamaica, and brought with him a negro-servant, a native of that island, whom he caused to be baptized and named Francis Barber"; and, again, that Frank's "first master had, in great humanity, made him a Christian."* Considerable search has failed to find any record of his baptism in Jamaica;† so it is probable that the ceremony, as indeed Hawkins's account suggests, was performed in England. There is certainly no record of his baptism at Barton,‡ where, as we shall presently see,§ he first went to school: perhaps a search through the Lincoln registers might be rewarded by the discovery of an entry which could not fail to interest Johnsonians.||

Dr. Bathurst, in conversation with Johnson, "declared he was glad that his father, who was a West-Indian planter, had left his affairs in total ruin, because having no estate, he was not under the temptation of having slaves."¶ Johnson's description of Jamaica as "a place of great wealth and dreadful wickedness, a den of tyrants, and a dungeon of slaves,"** was no doubt inspired by the descriptions he had heard from Dr. Bathurst. It is interesting to gain some record of Colonel Bathurst

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 326, 328.

† Mr. Judah writes:—"With respect to the baptism of Barber I searched the register of the entire county of Surrey as it was at that time, (1) St. Andrew, which is one of the oldest in the island, (2) Kingston from 1721 (the earliest date of that place), (3) St. David, St. Thomas-in-the-East, Portland, St. George, Port Royal—all these except St. Thomas-in-the-East begin after 1750, (4) St. Mary in the county of Middlesex—likewise begins after 1750. I found no record in any of the parishes searched of the baptism."

‡ Information of the Vicar, the Rev. F. F. R. Downie.

§ See p. 9.

|| I have made an unsuccessful attempt to find someone locally who would try to settle the point. The entry, if found, would probably disclose Barber's real age. "John Hamilton, a Negro about 29 yrs. of age," was baptized at Bath Abbey Church on 4 Feb. 1756; and "Juba Harding, a Negro, about 19 or 20 yrs. of age," on 27 May 1765 (*Harleian Society, Register Section*, vol. 27, pp. 133, 144). On 27 April 1756 was baptized "Agnes McBracka, Negro woman, a servant to Jacob Allen, Esq., of Jamaica" (*ibid.*, p. 133). Again, on 13 Oct. 1776, there was baptized at Rochester, in Staffs., "William Hill, a Blackamoor, brought from Virginia, and aged 22 years" (*Staffordshire Parish Register Society*).

¶ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 28.

** *Works of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Hawkins, 1787, vol. x., p. 167.

as a slave-owner.* In 1722 he purchased five men and two women slaves; and in 1727 Mr. Anthony Cooke of Kingston sold him five slaves."† Later he made a purchase of "a negro man slave" named "Ithis," who had belonged to Dr. John Blair of Kingston, practitioner in physic and surgery, from the Doctor's widow Elizabeth and her co-executor, Edward Roe. This is the only single purchase traced to him. To a deed dated 1741 there is attached a schedule of slaves on the Orange River estate. The name of "Barber" does not occur in this list, or among any of the purchases already mentioned, all of the names being of "the usual semi-African type." But, in the schedule alluded to, sixty male and female children are mentioned, though not by name; and it is conceivable that Barber might have been among them. All children born to a female slave were, of course, by law the property of her owner.

* These records I owe entirely to Mr. Judah.

† In 1736 Mark Hall, of St. Mary, settled *inter alia* certain slaves upon his wife Lettice, the daughter of Richard Bathurst,

CHAPTER II

BOYHOOD

Sent to Barton School by Col. Bathurst—His master, the Rev. William Jackson—Servant to Dr. Bathurst—Enters Dr. Johnson's service—Johnson's need of a man-servant—Goes to serve a Cheapside apothecary—Returns to Johnson—Runs away to sea—Johnson's efforts to get him released—H.M.S. "Stag" and her voyagings—Frank discharged—Final return to Johnson's service.

BOSWELL, after telling how it was that Francis Barber was brought to England, and before telling us of his transference to Johnson's service, relates that "he was sent, for some time, to the Reverend Mr. Jackson's school, at Barton, in Yorkshire."* And Hawkins, also, tells us that Frank was "sent for instruction to Burton upon Tees in Yorkshire," by "Captain" Bathurst.† It seems, therefore, clear that this schooling took place before the March of 1752; which points again to Frank having been older than seven at that date. Barton (not Burton, as Hawkins has it) is a small village about half way between Darlington and Richmond: it is not upon the Tees, but one of its little tributaries. Frank's first schoolmaster was the Rev. William Jackson, who became minister of Barton in 1737, and held the cure until he died, only a few months before Johnson, at the ripe age of 83.‡ Mr. Jackson was a man of neat and methodical habits:§ what his scholarship amounted to I cannot say.

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 239, footnote.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 326.

‡ Information kindly supplied by the Rev. F. F. R. Downie, the present Vicar of Barton. Mr. Jackson's burial is thus entered in the register:—"1784. July 1. Revd. Mr. Wm. Jackson buried. He was the perpetual Curate of the two united Chapels at Barton, viz. St. Cuthbert and St. Mary, Forty seven years, and he was ten years curate to a little Chapel near Chollerton before he came to Barton—Aged 83 years." Chollerton is in Northumberland, and Mr. Downie thinks the reference must be to the Chapel of ease at Bingfield, of which, by a curious coincidence, he himself had charge during 1891-93. In 1782 Mr. Jackson was evidently getting feeble, for on 27 October there is an entry that "Jno. Wilkinson entered this parish," signed, "Wm. Jackson, Minister, Jno. Wilkinson, Sub-Curate." On 27 March 1783 is recorded the burial of Mrs. Jane Jackson, wife of Mr. Jackson, curate, aged 97.

§ To quote Mr. Downie:—"Mr. Jackson seems to have been a particularly method

And what was the status of the school to which Frank was sent is not quite clear; but there can be little doubt that it would be a tiny village school established in a cottage at Barton in 1702 by a gift from one Captain Harrison.* Bishop Percy wrote to Boswell on 28 February 1788 that Francis "had formerly, I believe, been placed by his master at one of the cheap schools in Yorkshire."† How Colonel Bathurst came to pitch upon such a remote place to be the scene of his little black boy's first attempt to become a scholar can hardly be guessed, as we know of no connexion which might explain it. It is interesting to remember that Johnson's first cousin, Cornelius Harrison, who died in 1748, "the only one of his relations who ever rose in fortune above penury, or in character above neglect," was for 21 years Perpetual Curate of Darlington,‡ only a few miles from Barton.

If we are to believe Hawkins we must assume that, some time after leaving the school at Barton, Francis became servant to Dr. Bathurst; but in view of the discrepancies I have pointed out§ in the tale a little caution is advisable before these details are accepted. Yet Johnson himself said that Frank had been "given me by a friend whom I much respect."|| This makes it certainly appear that Dr. Bathurst, and not his father, was the actual donor; but of course Frank was the property of Colonel Bathurst at the time, and not of Dr. Bathurst. In assuming

cal man for his days. His registers are neatly kept, and he makes sundry entries. One curious one is that when he entered this parish he found it an established custom for the churchwardens to present a bottle of wine to the Curate on each 'Sacrament Sunday,' in order to avoid disputes over the Rubric, which orders that the wine left over from the 'Sacrament' shall be given to the Curate. He also notes that there were 'three Sacrament Sundays' per annum at each of the chapels of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert, i.e. six in the year only."

* Mr. Downie remarks:—"With regard to the school I find a note by a later Vicar that a certain Captain Harrison left or gave a sum of £20 to purchase a cottage and some land for a School at Barton. Who Captain Harrison was, or where he came from, is not known. In 1702 the cottage and land were purchased, and have since been sold; the sum realised now forming part of the endowment of our church school, and being known as 'Harrison's Charity.' Whether this was the school of which Mr. Jackson was master, and to which Francis Barber went, I cannot say. It may be that Mr. Jackson was master of Hartforth Grammar School while Vicar of Barton—a later Vicar held that post."

† Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, vii., 311.

‡ See my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 181-2. There is no need to imagine any connexion between "Captain Harrison" of 1702 and Cornelius Harrison, who came from Birmingham.

§ See p. 5.

|| See p. 13.

that he entered Johnson's service as early as the beginning of April in 1752 we stand upon firmer ground. Indeed one story would place it at an earlier date, for Mrs. Piozzi avows that Dr. Taylor once related to Mr. Thrale and herself how, when Johnson "lost his wife, the negro Francis ran away, though in the middle of the night, to Westminster, to fetch Dr. Taylor to his master, who was all but wild with excess of sorrow."* Mrs. Piozzi's unsupported anecdotes, however, are hardly the proper material for history.

Hawkins explains Johnson's reception of Frank into his household on the ground that his profits from *The Rambler*,† "the pay he was receiving for his papers in *The Adventurer*,‡ and the fruits of his other literary labours, had now exalted him to such a state of comparative affluence, as, in his judgment, made a man-servant§ necessary." But Hawkins professes to be surprised that Johnson, supremely careless of his dress and appearance generally, should have thought he required a personal servant. "The uses for which he was intended to serve this his last master were not very apparent, for Diogenes himself never wanted a servant less than he seemed to do."|| However this may have been, in a few years he had to get along for a time without Frank, who, no doubt growing weary of the dulness of a lexicographical laboratory, "upon some difference with his master, went and served an apothecary

* Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 2nd ed. 1786, p. 161.

† *The Rambler* was concluded on 14 March 1752, three days before Mrs. Johnson's death (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i. 203, footnote).

‡ Croker finds Hawkins guilty of a "mistake" here, for Boswell tells us that Johnson gave the essays for *The Adventurer* to Dr. Bathurst, who sold them for two guineas each (Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 77). Croker himself overlooks the fact that Johnson's contributions to *The Adventurer* did not start till 1753 (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i. 252), so that in any case they could hardly have helped him to engage a servant a year before. Croker (*loc. cit.*) thinks all the accounts "lead to a belief, that about this period Johnson was in extreme distress," and concludes that "he was induced to take the negro by charity and his love of Dr. Bathurst," and not because of his "affluence." Croker's acuteness might have suggested to him that the death of Mrs. Johnson, who when at Hampstead "indulged herself in country air and nice living, at an unsuitable expense" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 238), would be a great relief to Johnson's pocket, however heavy a blow to his heart. Croker himself in proof of poverty explains that on 3 July 1751 legal proceedings were threatened against Johnson for a debt contracted by his wife in August 1749; but this only emphasizes my point. Many a poor man might be elevated to a state of "comparative affluence" by the removal of an extravagant wife.

§ See p. 6.

|| Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 326.

in Cheapside, but still visited Dr. Johnson occasionally."* "You will think I forgot you," Johnson wrote to Lewis Paul some time in 1756, "but my boy is run away, and I know not whom to send."†

The apothecary's shop does not seem long to have claimed his affections. He returned to Johnson: but still his youthful desire to see something more of the world than was visible to him from the literary retreat in Gough Square prevented him from settling down to dull routine. In 1758 he did what so many boys of spirit feel an ambition to do: he ran away to sea. As Boswell says, he was "not pressed as has been supposed," but went away "with his own consent."‡ Johnson, who "always expressed the utmost abhorrence" for life at sea, evidently found it difficult to realize that his own views did not rule the minds of the adventurous. "No man," he laid it down, "will be a sailor who has contrivance enough to get himself into a jail; for being in a ship is being in a jail, with the chance of being drowned;" and added on another occasion:—"A man in a jail has more room, better food, and commonly better company."§ Holding such strenuously decided views, it is not surprising that he endeavoured to procure Frank's "release." On 16 March 1759 Tobias Smollett wrote, from Chelsea, to John Wilkes in an endeavour to restore servant to master:—

I am again your petitioner, in behalf of that great CHAM of literature, Samuel Johnson. His black servant, whose name is Francis Barber, has been pressed on board the Stag Frigate, Captain Angel, and our lexicographer is in great distress. He says the boy is a sickly lad, of a delicate frame, and particularly subject to a malady in his throat, which renders him very unfit for his Majesty's service. You know what manner of animosity the said Johnson has against you; and I dare say you desire no other opportunity of resenting it than that of laying him under an obligation. He was humble enough to desire my assistance on this occasion, though he and I were never cater-cousins; and I gave him to understand that I would make application to my friend Mr. Wilkes, who, perhaps, by his interest with Dr. Hay|| and Mr. Elliot,¶ might be able to procure the discharge of his lackey.**

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 239, footnote.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, i., 66.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 348.

§ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

|| George (afterwards Sir George, knt.) Hay [1715-78], lawyer and politician, was a Lord of the Admiralty from 1756 to 1765. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¶ Gilbert (afterwards Sir Gilbert, 3rd. bart.) Elliot [1722-77], a statesman of cultivated tastes, was also a Lord of the Admiralty from 1756. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

** Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 348-9; also given in Almon's *Wilkes*, 1805, i., 46.

That Johnson was willing for Jack Wilkes—at a date seventeen years before the celebrated meeting between them so skilfully engineered by Boswell—to become the instrument for Frank's discharge, is sufficient proof of his more than common anxiety to have his servant back with him. A week later Smollett acknowledged Mr. Wilkes's "generosity with respect to Johnson," which, he said, should be the "theme of our applause and thanksgiving."*

Hawkins tells us that Francis stayed with Johnson "till 1758, and then left him, but at the end of two years returned, and was taken again into his service."† Presumably he did not run away until near the end of 1758, for the Admiralty Muster Books reveal that his name first appears among the crew of H.M.S. *Stag* in December of that year,‡ under the command of Captain George Tindall,§ who was succeeded by Captain Henry Angel on 27 February 1759.

The Admiralty duly made out an order for Frank's discharge, at Mr. Wilkes's request, in the spring, but Johnson left London at the time, and it did not take effect. Frank remained on the *Stag*, which on 3 May was at Sheerness, on 1 June at the Downs, and on 23 June, 28 October and 14 November "at sea." It was while the *Stag* was "at sea" that Johnson wrote the following letter, apparently to Dr. George Hay:—||

SIR,

I should not have easily prevailed upon myself to trouble a Person in your high station with a request, had I not observed that Men have commonly benevolence in proportion to their capacities, and that the most extensive minds are most open to solicitation.

I had a Negro Boy named Francis Barber, given me by a Friend whom I much respect, and treated by me for some years with great tenderness. Being disgusted in the house he ran away to sea, and was in the Summer on board the ship stationed at Yarmouth to protect the fishery.

It would be a great pleasure and some convenience to me, if the Lords of

* Almon's *Wilkes*, i., 48.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 328.

‡ I am indebted to my friend Mr. Paley Baildon, F.S.A., for kindly looking up particulars of Barber in the Admiralty books at the Record Office.

§ "Capt. Geo. Tindall, late of the Deal Castle man of war," died 17 October 1777 (*Genl.'s Mag.*, 1777, p. 508).

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ii., 439-40.

the Admiralty would be pleased to discharge him, which as he is no seaman, may be done with little injury to the King's service.

You were pleased, Sir, to order his discharge in the Spring at the request of Mr. Wilkes, but I left London about that time and received no advantage from your favour. I therefore presume to entreat that you will repeat your order, and inform me how to co-operate with it so that it may be made effectual.

I shall take the liberty of waiting at the Admiralty next Tuesday for your answer. I hope my request is not such as it is necessary to refuse, and what it is not necessary to refuse, I doubt not but your humanity will dispose you to grant, even to one that can make no higher pretensions to your favour than, Sir, Your most obedient and Most humble Servant,

SAM: JOHNSON.

This letter was written from Gray's Inn on 9 November 1759, and the *Stag* arrived at Cromarty on 21 November, and at Leith Road on 5 December, where she remained during the early part of 1760, being there on 7 January and 7 February. Frank, however, was not discharged. The *Stag* was again "at sea" on 14 February, but back in Leith Road on 28 February. Then she returned south; being at the Nore on 12 March, at Sheerness on 19 March, at the Nore again on 10 April, "at sea" on 15 April, 5 May and 23 June, while on 30 June she was at Torbay. It was not until 8 August 1760 that Barber was discharged from the *Stag* by Admiralty order.* It is interesting to note that in the Muster Books he is always described as "L.M." or "Land Mn." presumably to indicate that he was not a sailor by calling. That he did not dislike the rough life, in spite of a rather delicate constitution, is clear from his telling Boswell that he was discharged "without any wish of his own." When he arrived once more in London "he found his old master in Chambers in the Inner Temple, and returned to his service."†

Frank was from 1752 continuously in the Doctor's service, according to Boswell, with the exception of these "two intervals" when he ran away.‡

* Croker says "he was not discharged till June 1760" (Croker's *Boswell*, new ed., 1890, p. 118). Barber himself told Boswell that the "precise time" of his discharge was "three days before King George II. died" (Percy Fitzgerald's *Croker's Boswell and Boswell*, p. 226). This would make the date 22 October 1760; perhaps he did not actually leave his ship till then.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 350.

‡ *Ibid.* i., 239.

CHAPTER III

AT BISHOP'S STORTFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Frank and his black friends—Loved in Lincolnshire—Attends Johnson to Easton Mauduit—Goes to Bishop's Stortford school—Headmaster the Rev. Joseph Clapp—Mr. Clapp's death, and his successor—Status of the Grammar School—School removed to Windhill House—Another change in the headmastership—Johnson's interest in Frank's progress—Last days of the school—Frank returns to London—Mrs. Clapp—Anna Williams on Frank's education—Johnson's acquaintance with Bishop's Stortford.

WE hear little of Frank's doings during the next few years, when he was presumably growing up to manhood. On 5 July 1763 the Doctor speaks to Lucy Porter of his possibly visiting Lichfield during the summer, and remarks:—"I shall bring Frank with me; so that Kitty must contrive to make two beds, or get a servant's bed at the Three Crowns, which may be as well."* However, the visit does not seem to have been paid.

To this period belongs a reminiscence which throws a picturesque sidelight upon Frank's social instincts. When the Rev. Baptist Noel Turner, then however only a student at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, called at No. 1, Inner Temple Lane, to see Johnson, he found him out, "and when Francis Barber, his black servant, opened the door to tell me so, a group of his African countrymen were sitting round a fire in the gloomy anti-room; and on their all turning their sooty faces at once to stare at me, they presented a curious spectacle."† This is of interest as the only record we possess of Frank's consorting with his black brethren.

At the beginning of 1764 Johnson paid a visit to Langton, in Lincolnshire, to stay with his friend Bennet Langton, returning to

* *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, i., 99.

† *Nichols's Literary Illustrations*, vi., 148. This reminiscence was contained in a letter written so late as 17 October 1818.

London in February.* If Mrs. Piozzi's garrulous reminiscences are to be trusted, Frank accompanied his master on this adventure, and supported his reputation for being "eminent for his success among the girls." "I must have you know," said Johnson to a circle of ladies who laughed at the idea of such eminence, "that Frank has carried the empire of Cupid further than most men. When I was in Lincolnshire so many years ago, he attended me thither; and when we returned home together, I found that a female haymaker had followed him to London for love."† Dr. Birkbeck Hill complains, perhaps a little pedantically, that "haymakers" are out of season in February;‡ but we need not pursue that argument against the anecdotist's accuracy.§

Later in the year 1764, during the summer, Johnson spent some time at the vicarage of Easton Mauduit, in Northants., as the guest of Thomas Percy, then a plain country clergyman: he was there in the middle of August.|| "Francis Barber then attended him as his servant," wrote Percy to Boswell long afterwards, "and went back with him to London."¶

In February 1766, when Boswell visited Johnson at his new house in Johnson's Court, he found that "his faithful Francis was still attending upon him."** It was not long after this, probably in 1767, that Johnson gave a most striking proof of his affectionate regard for the simple negro. He made an heroic attempt to have him properly educated. "His sincere regard for Francis Barber, his faithful negro servant," says Boswell, "made him so desirous of his further improvement, that he now placed him at a school at Bishop Stortford, in Hertfordshire. This humane attention," he observes, "does Johnson's heart much honour;"†† with which sentiment everyone must agree, even if doubtful whether the attention was as wise as it was humane. Hawkins, who, however, in everything relating to Frank is a prejudiced

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 476-7.

† Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2nd ed., 1786, p. 210.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 476, footnote.

§ Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, in his lively *Critical Examination of Dr. G. Birkbeck Hill's Johnsonian Editions*, 1898, p. 30, brings this forward as evidence to illustrate Dr. Hill's extremely literal method of interpreting and criticizing such amiable chatter.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 486.

¶ Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, vii., 311.

** Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, ii., 5.

†† *Ibid.* ii., 62.

witness, said that Johnson, "for no assignable reason, nay, rather in despite of nature, and to unfit him for being useful according to his capacity, determined to make him a scholar."* Johnson spent the whole of the summer of 1767 at Lichfield—he returned to London towards the end of October "after an absence of near six months"†—and it seems possible that Frank's schooling may have been originally designed partly as a means of keeping him employed during his master's long holiday. If the entry of "Frank" in Reynolds's diary of sitters is rightly interpreted as a reference to Barber, then we must assign Sir Joshua's portrait of the negro to April 1767,‡ when Johnson was living in Johnson's Court. It was only a few weeks before, in February, that the Doctor's celebrated interview with George III. took place in the royal library.§

Johnson wrote many letters to Frank while he was at Bishop's Stortford, but unfortunately only three were preserved. The first, commencing "Dear Francis," and signed "yours affectionately," is dated 28 May 1768, and runs thus:—

I have been very much out of order. I am glad to hear that you are well, and design to come soon to see you. I would have you stay at Mrs. Clapp's for the present, till I can determine what we shall do. Be a good boy.

My compliments to Mrs. Clapp and to Mr. Fowler.||

The school selected by Johnson for his servant was the Grammar School of Bishop's Stortford, of which the Rev. Joseph Clapp had been appointed headmaster on 25 May 1764. Mr. Clapp was a Hampshire man, who took his degree at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1744.¶ He had died over six months before the date of Johnson's letter: he was buried at Bishop's Stortford church on 11 November 1767, aged 42.**

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 328.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, ii., 30.

‡ See p. 107.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, ii., 33.

|| *Ibid.* ii., 62-3.

¶ Joseph, son of Joseph Clapp, of Gosport, Hants, gent., matriculated at Christ Church on 16 June 1740, aged 16, and took his B.A. in 1744 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*).

** Information of Mr. J. L. Glasscock, of Bishop's Stortford, to whom I am much indebted for local details, and particularly for the trouble he took in looking up the old minutes of the Trustees of the Stortford Charities and extracting many items bearing on the history of the Grammar School at this period, which helped me very much.

There is a memorial slab to him in the floor of the nave, the dates on which are now so worn away as to be indecipherable.*

The headmastership did not long remain vacant after Mr. Clapp's death, for on 1 December 1767 the Rev. Robert Fowler, late of St. Mary Magdalene College, Cambridge, was elected in his stead by the trustees. He was the "Mr. Fowler" to whom Johnson sent his compliments.

The Grammar School was a respectable institution, of old foundation, but at this time it hardly occupied so good a position as it had done in the past. In the seventeenth century the pupils were very largely the sons of neighbouring county gentlemen, preparing for the universities. Some members of this class still attended during the eighteenth century, but a lower element had crept in, and there is evidence that during Mr. Fowler's reign at least the sons of inhabitants were allowed to come in at a lower fee. Francis Barber had entered the school at an unfortunate period of its existence, when its affairs were approaching a crisis. Johnson's letter makes it probable that Frank had been sent to the school in 1767, as has been already suggested, before Mr. Clapp's death, and had been placed as a boarder in the headmaster's house; and that the death in the prime of life of that functionary had put Johnson rather in a dilemma. So he counselled Frank to "stay at Mrs. Clapp's for the present, till I can determine what we shall do."

The house where Mr. Clapp lived, and where his widow continued to live, was Windhill House, on the south side of Windhill and near to the church. "The house is an old Tudor one," writes Major Skeet,† "with some very fine plaster ceilings. It was always supposed that

* When Cussans copied the inscription in 1870 or earlier he described it as "now nearly obliterated." Perhaps this accounts for his giving the date of Mr. Clapp's death incorrectly:—"The Rev. Jos. Clapp, A.M., Rector of Magdalen Laver, Essex, and late Master of this School, died 8 Decr. 1767, in the 44th year of his age. Also Mary, his widow, died 1 January, 1781, and Joseph, their only son who died 14th June 1790, aged 29" (Cussans's *Hertfordshire*, vol. i. ("Hundred of Braughing"), p. 121). *The Gent.'s Mag.* for 1767 (p. 563) records the death, on 8 November, of "Rev. Mr. Clapp, R. of Magdalen-Laver, Essex."

† Major Francis John Angus Skeet is a grandson of Thomas Wilby [1803-75], who lived at Windhill House (see Burke's *Landed Gentry*, under Wilby of Westfield House, Bishop's Stortford). It was sold by a member of the Clapp family, in 1806, to the Wilbys.

the Clapps had lived there, and that for a time it had been used as a school." This family tradition, as will be seen, is strictly correct. In 1903 Windhill House was purchased by the Redemptorist Fathers, who now occupy it.

The Grammar School, which had been rebuilt under the inspiration of its most successful headmaster, Dr. Thomas Tooke, stood in Windhill, or High Street, upon arches, underneath being the market and shops.* It has been written by an excellent authority that after Tooke's death in 1721 the school "decayed so rapidly that in the year 1775 the trustees pulled the building down in order to save the cost of repairing it."† Cussans more correctly wrote that "about the year 1768, the school premises fell into such a state of dilapidation, that the trustees pulled it down entirely, rather than incur the expense of rebuilding it."‡ To be quite accurate, the school was taken down in 1769, and the Trustees' minutes show that on 26 December of that year Mrs. Clapp offered them the use of the schoolroom in her house "till a new school shall be built on another place provided by the Trustees." This offer was evidently accepted. It referred only to the schoolroom, but we cannot be quite sure whether Mrs. Clapp continued for a time to live on in the house. Barber certainly continued to board with her, so that in any case she cannot have gone far away.

Mr. Fowler was probably not satisfied with his position, for his resignation took place about the time of Mrs. Clapp's placing her schoolroom at the Trustees' disposal, and on 1 January 1770 the Rev. William Ellis, M.A., was elected headmaster. A letter addressed by Johnson "to Mr. Francis Barber, at Mrs. Clapp's, Bishop-Stortford, Hertfordshire," was written from London on 25 September 1770, and in it we hear of the new headmaster:—

DEAR FRANCIS,

I am at last sat down to write to you, and should very much blame myself for having neglected you so long, if I did not impute that and many other failings to want of health. I hope not to be so long silent again. I am very

* Cussans's *Hertfordshire*, vol. i. ("Hundred of Braughing"), p. 113.

† See article on "Schools," by A. F. Leach, *Victoria County Histories: Hertfordshire*, vol. ii., 1908, p. 82.

‡ Cussans's *Hertfordshire*, vol. i. ("Hundred of Braughing"), pp. 113-114.

well satisfied with your progress, if you can really perform the exercises which you are set; and I hope Mr. Ellis does not suffer you to impose on him, or on yourself.

Make my compliments to Mr. Ellis, and to Mrs. Clapp, and Mr. Smith.

Let me know what English books you read for your entertainment. You can never be wise unless you love reading.

Do not imagine that I shall forget or forsake you; for if, when I examine you, I find that you have not lost your time, you shall want no encouragement from, yours affectionately,

SAM. JOHNSON.*

No letter could better than this illustrate Johnson's interest in his servant's intellectual progress, and the sympathetic regard which he entertained for the enfranchised slave-boy. It is clear from it, and from the following letter, written on 7 December 1770, some two months later, to the same address, that Frank still continued with Mrs. Clapp:—

DEAR FRANCIS,—

I hope you mind your business. I design you shall stay with Mrs. Clapp these holidays. If you are invited out you may go, if Mr. Ellis gives leave. I have ordered you some clothes, which you will receive, I believe, next week. My compliments to Mrs. Clapp and to Mr. Ellis, and Mr. Smith, &c.

I am

Your affectionate,

SAM. JOHNSON.†

It would be of interest to know to what houses in the neighbourhood Francis was in the habit of being "invited out." It hardly seems likely that he would be received into the homes of many of his fellow pupils; though to those able to overcome the colour prejudice a good natured and intelligent young negro would no doubt be an acceptable companion. It must be remembered that he was much older than the other scholars, and that in 1770 he was at the lowest estimate twenty-five, and had already seen something of the world.

On 25 May 1771 the Trustees appear to have paid a sum of four shillings for fixing shelves for the school library, "when moved to Mrs. Clapp's house;" and on 24 June 1771 it was proposed that they "hire the house of Widow Clapp for 9 years till her son shall come of age." This proposition was evidently not carried out; but the school

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, ii., 115–116.

† *Ibid.* ii., 116.

continued to be held in her house. Over a year later, however, on 6 October 1772, the minutes record that the timber and other materials of the old school, which had been stored on a portion of her premises, were removed from Mrs. Clapp's, together with the school library, "by reason of her's and Mr. Hanchett's coming to inhabit there." From this we should infer that Mrs. Clapp had not been living at Windhill House for some time; but the point is not quite clear. John Hanchett was her son-in-law.* On 26 October, three weeks later, the Trustees paid one pound and sixpence for the moving of the school library from Mrs. Clapp's to a room in Water Lane, which they had hired from Messrs. Woodham and Hawkes, the brewers, at a rent of £2, and for fixing shelves there.†

These little transactions seem to have represented the last dying flicker of the once prosperous Grammar School of Bishop's Stortford. After 1772 the minute book of the Trustees contains no mention of it; and there can be little doubt that towards the end of that year it lapsed. But Francis Barber had already ceased to be a pupil there. He seems to have come back permanently to his master early in 1772, for on 21 March Boswell announces himself as "happy to find myself again in my friend's study, and glad to see my old acquaintance, Mr. Francis Barber, who was now returned home."‡ It is true that this fails to fix the date of Frank's return, for Boswell seems not to have been in Johnson's company for a considerable time before. And, writing to Mrs. Thrale on 20 June 1771, Johnson had informed her that "this night, at nine o'clock, Sam. Johnson and Francis Barber, Esquires, set out in the Lichfield stage; Francis is indeed rather upon it."§ Yet Boswell's remark leaves the impression that Frank had only recently returned; and the Lichfield trip may have been in an interval of the schooling. Hawkins gives the period of his stay at Bishop's Stortford

* See her will, p. 22.

† Mr. Glasscock says that the library was moved again, in 1788, to the house of Dr. Robert Dimsdale. To *Gent. Mag.* for 1795 (p. 892) a correspondent contributed some account of the Bishop's Stortford Grammar School Library, which confirms this:—"This library is at present taken care of by my worthy and learned friend Dr. Dimsdale, of Bishop Stortford, who gratuitously gives it room in his house, and, but for whose pious concern for this venerable repository, it would soon, in all probability, have become a prey to avarice, and been sold by the pound to the grocers and chandlers of the town."

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, ii., 146.

§ *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, i., 173.

as five years;* but even if we accept this figure it does not settle the question at issue, for Frank may have started his schooling there at any date after February 1766.†

Mrs. Clapp remained at Bishop's Stortford until her death on 1 January 1781, aged 53,‡ no doubt occupying Windhill House. Her son Joseph, already mentioned, survived her, but died unmarried in 1790.§ The Grammar School was revived in 1850 on a different site, and became famous as the educational nursery of Cecil Rhodes.

We learn from Hawkins that Johnson, "as Mrs. Williams was used to say, who would frequently reproach him with his indiscretion in this instance, expended three hundred pounds in an endeavour to have him taught Latin and Greek."|| The same excellent lady, whose disposition showed sometimes a little acerbity under the trials of housekeeping for the Doctor's household, and "who, with a view to the interest of her friend, was very attentive to the conduct of this his favourite, when she took occasion to complain to his master of his misbehaviour, would do it in such terms as these: 'This is your scholar! your philosopher! upon whom you have spent so many hundred pounds.'""¶

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 328.

† See p. 16.

‡ "Mary Clapp, widow, aged 53," was buried at Bishop's Stortford on 5 January 1781. The following is an abstract of her will:—

MARY CLAPP, of Bishop's Stortford, co. Hertford, widow. Will dated 27 March 1774. I give all my moneys, goods and estates to my son Joseph Clapp at his age of 21, and my estate is to be laid out for his benefit, but in case he die before the said age then my said moneys, etc., to pass to my son-in-law John Hanchett, esq., he paying £20 to my late husband's aunt, Mrs. Mary Combes, delivering to her all my wearing apparel. Exors., said John Hanchett, and Mary Combes, and they shall be guardians of my said son Joseph till his age of 21. Signed, *Mary Clapp*. Wits., Charles Perry, W. Plumer Windus. Memorandum by which I leave my aunt my clothes at the time of my death. Signed, *Mary Clapp*, and dated Bishop's Stortford, 5 January 1776. Will and memorandum attested 10 March 1781 by William Plumer Windus, of Ware, co. Hertford, gent., and Stephen Webb, of Bishop's Stortford, servant. Proved 14 March 1781, in P.C.C. [124 Webster], by John Hanchett, esq., one of the exors., power reserved to Mary Combes, widow.

Mr. Glasscock tells me that in a Manorial Quit Rental for 1775 Mrs. Clapp is down for a payment of 4s.; for what is not stated. William Windus, "an eminent attorney and many years under-sheriff" of Herts., died 7 October 1792, at Ware (*Gent.'s Mag.*, p. 964; *European Mag.*, part ii., p. 320).

§ "Joseph Clapp, bachelor, age 29," was buried at Bishop's Stortford on 19 June 1790.

|| Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 328.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 328, footnote.

There seems to have been considerable feeling between the pair, for elsewhere Hawkins speaks of "the complaints of Mrs. Williams of Frank's neglect of his duty and inattention to the interests of his master, and of Frank against Mrs. Williams, for the authority she assumed over him, and exercised with an unwarrantable severity."*

Boswell, when preparing the materials of his great biography, seems to have got a little confused as to the locality of Frank's schooling, and to have placed it at Easton Mauduit, where Percy was vicar. He thereupon wrote to Percy, on 9 February 1788, for particulars; but the Bishop—as he had by then become—explained that Frank "never was at school *there*," but, "if I mistake not, at a school in or near Bishop's Stortford, where poor Frank, I fear, never got beyond his accidence."† Yet Boswell put it on record that Frank "was, by the kindness of his master, at a school in *Northamptonshire*, that he might have the advantage of some learning."‡

No explanation is offered by Boswell for Johnson's selection of Bishop's Stortford as the scene of Frank's schooling. But we can find a clue. Joseph Cockfield, a Quaker and a friend of John Hoole, and of John Scott, the Amwell poet, writing to the Rev. Weeden Butlers on 4 March 1766, alludes to Johnson's friend and pensioner, Anna Williams, as "the lady in whose company I was at Bishop Stortford accidentally last summer."|| Hoole himself, for whose translation of *Tasso* Johnson had written a dedication as early as 1763,¶ had local connexions: "in 1757 he married Miss Susannah Smith,** of Bishop Stortford, who was frequently called the handsome Quaker; and, in marriage with her, he formed a connexion with two very worthy families, the Smiths of Bishop Stortford, and the Etheredges of Bunt-

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 408.

† Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, vii., 309-II.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 239, footnote.

§ Weeden Butler [1742-1823], grandfather of the present Master of Trinity, acted as amanuensis to Dr. William Dodd until the latter's execution in 1777. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

|| Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, v., 761.

¶ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 383.

** Mr. Norman Penney, the librarian to the Society of Friends, tells me that the only entry he can find in their records *re* Smith of Bishop's Stortford is:—"Susannah Smith, died 14 Dec. 1798, aged 80. Bishop Stortford, non-member." There was another Susannah Smith, of Thaxted, who died 13 December 1788, aged 66.

ingford; and through them he became acquainted with Mr. John Scott, of Amwell, by profession a Quaker, but a good poet, and author of many pleasing and well-known productions."* It may be conjectured that Johnson's acquaintance with Bishop's Stortford school came about through Miss Anna Williams or John Hoole.† The "Mr. Smith" to whom Johnson sent his compliments in the two later letters to Frank‡ was doubtless a relative of Mrs. Hoole's.

We may reasonably assume that Johnson carried out the intention expressed in his first letter, "to come soon to see" Frank; for his friendly references to Mrs. Clapp and other Stortford people suggest that he had made their personal acquaintance, and a town only some thirty miles from London was easily within reach. We are told that Johnson "visited Scott at Amwell;"§ and Amwell was well on the way to Bishop's Stortford. And, if we conclude that he visited Frank there, we may go further and include Windhill House among the actual buildings still standing with which Johnson can be associated.

* Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, ii., 405.

† Thomas Gibbons [1720-85], the dissenting divine, of whom Johnson said in 1781, "I took to Dr. Gibbons" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 126), had an elder son Thomas, who in 1774-5 "was married and happily settled at Bishop's Stortford in charge of a school." His father used to visit him and take pupils on the coach from London (see article on "Dr. Thomas Gibbons' Diary," contributed by Rev. W. H. Summers to *Congregational Historical Society Transactions*, vol. ii., No. 1 (January 1905), p. 27). No doubt this would be a private school for nonconformists. In 1784 Thomas Gibbons was a bank-clerk in London, attending his father's church (*ibid.* p. 37).

‡ See p. 20.

§ See account of John Scott [1730-83], in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

CHAPTER IV

UNOBTRUSIVE SERVICE

An historic dinner—Frank and Steevens's "Shakespeare"—Does not go to the Hebrides—Some trifling incidents—Frank's marriage—His wife at the Streatham dance—Hawkins's aspersions on her honour—Frank with Johnson at Ashbourne—Wants to read "Evelina"—Preserves Johnson's proof-sheets for Boswell—His exact duties—Johnson and negroes—Frank has a daughter—The question of her colour—Mrs. Siddons's visit—Mrs. Barber and her children join the Johnson household—Johnson's affection for Frank and its cause—Master and servant at prayers.

DURING the last twelve years of Johnson's life, the period which provided most material for the biographers, when he was the acknowledged dictator of letters, Frank's figure flits only dimly across the scene; here giving colour to an incident, and there finding kindly mention in one of his master's letters or more intimate prayers and meditations. On 8 April 1773, for instance, Boswell tells us how Johnson refused to let him leave at midnight and "ordered Frank to tell Mrs. Williams that we were coming to drink tea with her, which we did."* It was only three days after this, on 11 April, that Boswell first gratified his curiosity by dining with his idol "in the dusky recess of a court in Fleet-street." The meal turned out to be commonplace and appetising; but Foote, who was not of the company, "in allusion to Francis, the *negro*, was willing to suppose that our repast was *black broth*."† In such wise do the feeblest of witticisms become famous.

In 1773, after some half-dozen years of labour, George Steevens published his edition of *Shakespeare*, which included Johnson's name on the title-page, though he had done none of the actual editing. In this connexion, Miss Hawkins shows how faithfully she carried on her father's campaign of abuse against the negro:—

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, ii., 214

† *Ibid.* ii., 215.

The immortalized Frank, the *faithful* black servant of Dr. Johnson, could scarcely, I think, less deserve the reflected credit given him. What he would have done by or with his master in case of extremity, I do not wish to surmise, but I know certainly that he took bribes for denying him to others, when Mr. Steevens wanted his assistance in his *Shakespeare*, and, I believe, it is incontestable that, *vice versa*, he sold intelligence to Boswell.*

We need not trouble to acquit him of such venial offences, and if he "took bribes" for nothing less innocent than furthering two great literary projects, his chances of salvation were equal to those of the generality of mankind.

In the August of 1773 Johnson started off on his tour to Scotland. Boswell took his own manservant, so "Dr. Johnson thought it unnecessary to put himself to the additional expence of bringing with him Francis Barber, his faithful black servant."†

Writing from Llewenny, in Denbighshire, on 16 August 1774, to Robert Levett, Johnson asks his old pensioner to "tell Frank I hope he remembers my advice. When his money is out, let him have more."‡ This suggests that Levett was the banker, but that Frank had some discretionary power in the purchase of supplies—indeed he told an interviewer nearly twenty years later that he "purchased the provisions."§

On 12 May 1775 Boswell took possession of a bedroom assigned to him by Johnson for occasional use and records that he "was attended by honest Francis with a most civil assiduity."|| Later in the year Johnson was in Paris, and writing to Levett on 22 October he asks him to "give my love to Francis."¶

Frank's name crops up during the next year, 1776, but only in connexion with trifles. On 5 April Boswell records a "curious incident"; how "Francis announced that a large packet was brought to him (Johnson) from the post-office, said to have come from Lisbon," and how the Doctor, wrongly suspecting a trick, would not even look

* *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts and Opinions*, by Lætitia Matilda Hawkins, 1824, i.,

153.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, v. ("Tour to the Hebrides"), 53.

‡ *Ibid.* ii., 282.

§ See p. 75.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, ii., 376.

¶ *Ibid.* ii., 386

at it.* Later in the month, writing to Boswell from Bath, he tells him to "bid Francis look in the paper-drawer of the chest of drawers in my bed-chamber," for some documents of legal import.† On 15 May occurred the celebrated meeting between Johnson and Jack Wilkes, and we read how, when Boswell called at Bolt Court, on the way to the dinner at Dilly's, Johnson "roared, 'Frank, a clean shirt,' and was very soon drest."‡

After a stay of six weeks at Brighton, no doubt with the Thrales, Johnson writes on 21 October 1776 to tell Levett of his impending return, and characteristically concludes:—"Remember me kindly to Francis and Betsy."§ Neither Boswell nor any of his editors tell us who "Betsy" was; but, seeing, as I shall show later,|| that Frank's wife was named Elizabeth, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the reference was to Mrs. Barber. Apart from this piece of evidence I was not inclined to place Frank's marriage so early. But I know of no other "Betsy" to whom Johnson could have referred: Mrs. Desmoulins, it is true, was named Elizabeth, but Johnson, of course, never alluded to her under any but her formal designation. It is possible that "Betsy" as yet was not married to Frank; but we do not associate the negro temperament with long engagements.¶

Mrs. Barber does not obtrude much into Johnsonian records, but she is the heroine of the following anecdote by Mrs. Piozzi:—

On the birthday of our eldest daughter, and that of our friend Dr. Johnson, the 17th and 18th of September, we every year made up a little dance and supper, to divert our servants and their friends, putting the summerhouse into their hands for the two evenings, to fill with acquaintance and merriment. Francis and his white wife were invited of course. She was eminently pretty, and he was jealous, as my maids told me. On the first of these days' amusements (I

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iii., 22-3.

† *Ibid.* iii., 44.

‡ *Ibid.* iii., 68.

§ *Ibid.* iii., 92.

|| See p. 81.

¶ Since writing this I have found sufficient proof that this early reference was to Frank's wife, or, it may have been, to his betrothed. Writing to his landlord Edmund Allen, the printer, from Pembroke College, Oxford, on 7 June 1784, Johnson says:—"While I am away I beg that you will sit for me at the Club, and that you will pay Betsy Barber five shillings a week" (*Intimate Society Letters of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Duke of Argyll, 1910, ii., 650). This letter, of course, was not known to Dr. Birkbeck Hill.

know not what year) Frank took offence at some attentions paid his Desdemona, and walked away next morning to London in wrath. His master and I driving the same road an hour after, overtook him. "What is the matter, child (says Dr. Johnson), that you leave Streatham to-day? *Art sick?*" He is jealous (whispered I). "Are you jealous of your wife, you stupid blockhead (cries out his master in another tone)? " The fellow hesitated; and, *To be sure Sir, I don't quite approve, Sir*, was the stammering reply. "Why, what do they do to her, man? do the footmen kiss her?" No Sir, no! Kiss my *wife Sir!*—*I hope not Sir*. "Why, what do they do to her, my lad?" Why nothing, Sir, I'm sure Sir. "Why then go back directly and dance you dog, do; and let's hear no more of such empty lamentations."*

Hawkins, never willing to lose an opportunity of depreciating Frank, condescends to cast the foulest aspersions on his wife's honour:—

It was hinted to me many years ago, by his master, that he was a loose fellow; and I learned from others, that, after an absence from his service of some years,† he married. In his search of a wife, he picked up one of those creatures with whom, in the disposal of themselves, no contrariety of colour is an obstacle. It is said, that soon after his marriage, he became jealous, and, it may be supposed, that he continued so, till, by presenting him first with one, and afterwards with another daughter, of her own colour, his wife put an end to all his doubts on that score.‡

It may well astonish us nowadays that a lawyer of experience should accord the widest publicity to such libellous statements; and that he should be able to do so with impunity. We will not condemn Mrs. Barber upon the testimony of Sir John Hawkins; if for no other reason because, as will be shown later, Frank's son, born after Johnson's death, had a strong negro strain in him;§ and the facts of nature do not render it probable, in this case, that the elder children were illegitimate. Moreover, the woman who many years later kept a school for children, and was described by an unprejudiced man of the world as "sensible and well-informed,"|| scarcely accords with the picture drawn by Hawkins.

* Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1786, pp. 211–12.

† Frank was not absent from Johnson's service after 1760 (see p. 14). The reference must be to the period of his schooling at Bishop's Stortford, which ended about 1772 (see p. 21); during which, of course, he was, technically at least, in Johnson's service.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 586, footnote.

§ See pp. 91, 99.

|| See p. 82.

Writing to Mrs. Thrale, on 15 January 1777, Johnson relates how he had been bled, and how he had re-opened the wound himself and "let out about ten ounces more. Frank and I were but awkward; but, with Mr. Levet's help, we stopped the stream."* Later in the year he was at Ashbourne with Boswell. Vexed at getting no replies to the letters he wrote to Mrs. Thrale, he "charged Frank with trusting some other hand to the post-office"; but this the negro denied, and with reason, for his master had received answers to other letters.† "I am going to dine with Mr. Dyot," he writes again to his patroness on 13 September, "and Frank tells sternly, that it is past two o'clock."‡ Boswell relates how, one evening during this visit, when he was sitting with Johnson, Frank delivered a verbal invitation to dinner from Dr. Taylor which mentioned a hare as the attraction and which Johnson said he would accept—"hare or rabbit."§

With the exception of Hawkins all the chroniclers make kindly reference to Frank. "Good Mr. Francis" Boswell calls him when recording how on 18 March 1778 he arrived in London and was told by the negro that Johnson had gone to Streatham.|| It is interesting to read of Frank's literary tastes. "Murphy told me," writes Johnson to Mrs. Thrale on 14 November 1778, "that you wrote to him about *Evelina*. *Francis* wants to read it."¶ The italics represent Johnson's own emphasizing of the fact: no doubt he was both pleased and amused to find his servant anxious to read Miss Burney's first novel.

Boswell sometimes employed Frank as the humble instrument of his biographical zeal. In 1779 appeared Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*. "On the 22nd of January," notes Boswell, "I wrote to him on several topicks, and mentioned that as he had been so good as to permit me to have the proof sheets of his *Lives of the Poets*, I had written to his servant, Francis, to take care of them for me."** Madame D'Arblay confirms this:—"Boswell, Dr. Johnson said, had engaged Frank

* Birkbeck Hill's *Letters of Johnson*, ii., 1.

† *Ibid.* ii., 28.

‡ *Ibid.* ii., 30.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iii., 207.

|| *Ibid.* iii., 222.

¶ Birkbeck Hill's *Letters of Johnson*, ii., 77. *Evelina* had been published in January 1778; see *D'Arblay's Diary*, ed. Austin Dobson, i., 17.

** Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iii., 371.

Barber, his negro servant, to collect and preserve all the proof sheets."* Johnson, it may be mentioned, sent his manuscript straight off to the printer unread, so that the proof sheets were a record of any alterations he saw fit to make when his compositions first underwent his scrutiny.†

Frank's duties are nowhere exactly specified by the biographers; but we gather that in addition to attending so far as was required on his master's person, he answered the door and waited at table. "Frank," cried out the Doctor from his bed when Boswell called to see him on 4 October 1779, "go and get coffee, and let us breakfast *in splendour*."‡ He even waited at the tables of friends whom his master visited. "One day," relates Miss Reynolds in proof that Johnson, though dim-sighted, was a keen critic of every detail of deportment, "one day, as his man Frank was waiting at Sir Joshua's table, he observed with some emotion that he had the salver under his arm."§ As evidence of a larger power, Frank seems to have had the purchasing of provisions.||

"When he spoke of negroes," wrote Mrs. Piozzi, "he always appeared to think them of a race naturally inferior, and made few exceptions in favour of his own."¶ Yet he did not allow himself to show want of respect for Frank's humanity. When his beloved cat, Hodge, got so old that his digestion was too delicate for anything but a diet of oysters, Johnson used to go out and buy them himself, "that Francis the Black's delicacy might not be hurt, at seeing himself employed for the convenience of a quadruped."** Miss Cornelia Knight confirms this spirit of respect. "The ideas of Johnson on social order were carried so far," she wrote, "that when he wanted to send for his favourite cat he would not order his servant, who was a negro, to procure it, saying that it was not good to employ human beings in the service of animals; he therefore went himself on the errand."††

* *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, by Madame D'Arblay, 1832, ii., 178.

† *Ibid.* ii., 179.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iii., 400.

§ *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 276. || See p. 26.

¶ Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1786, p. 212.

** *Ibid.* p. 257.

†† *Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight*, 3rd ed., 1861, i., 14.

Johnson was fond of humorously alluding to Frank by a formal appellation. On 17 October 1781 he writes to Mrs. Thrale that "Mr. Johnson and Mr. Barber, without any sinister accident," arrived at the Angel Inn, Oxford, on Monday evening.* This journey was not taken at a very opportune time for the Barber household, for Frank's pretty wife was about to present him with what was evidently the first child of their union. "Frank's wife," wrote Johnson to Mrs. Thrale from Ashbourne on 24 November 1781, "has brought him a wench; but I cannot yet get intelligence of her colour, and therefore have never told him how much depends upon it."† And in a letter two days later to Edmund Allen he asks that Mrs. Desmoulins should "write immediately what she knows," adding, "I wish to be told about Frank's wife and child."‡ Unkind critics may read into Johnson's remark as to "how much depends upon the color," a doubt of Mrs. Frank's faithfulness to her black husband, and find therein some support for Hawkins's aspersions on her moral character.§ But it is absurd to suppose the Othello of this story so innocent as to make it necessary for Johnson to play the part of Iago and whisper to the negro his doubts as to Desdemona's virtue. If her guilt were to be read in the light skin of her infant, we may be quite sure that Frank, temperamentally jealous and with the primitive passions of his race, would not be behind his master in drawing unfavourable conclusions. Nor can we imagine Johnson anxious—as we should have to imagine him—to take the first opportunity of poisoning the springs of his servant's marital affections. He may have thought that it would be a good thing for the "wench" if she favoured her mother more than her father; and have realized that a white woman might feel less affection for a baby wholly black. Either of these points of view Johnson might think it necessary to explain to Frank; but hardly the one we have discussed.

* *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 227.

† *Ibid.* ii., 239. As Johnson attended St. Clement Danes I thought that Frank's children might have been baptized there, but the Rector has kindly searched the baptismal register 1781–86, as well as the marriage register 1773–81, without finding any record of Frank or his children.

It does not appear that Frank was naturalized: the Patent Roll indexes have been searched 1760–80 inclusive, under "Denizations" and also under "Barber," without any trace being found of a naturalization to him.

‡ *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 240. § See p. 28.

Frank never seems to have been of strong constitution, though we hear little of it during his years of faithful service to Johnson. "Frank is not well," writes his master to Lucy Porter on 2 March 1782.* On 16 September 1783 Johnson wrote what seems to be the only letter of his to Frank that has been preserved, with the exception of those addressed to Bishop's Stortford. It is dated from Heale, near Salisbury, and after expressing "wonder that you have never written," announces that the writer will be home in a few days, and asks that Frank invite certain friends enumerated to dinner for his master's birthday.† Next month Johnson "received a visit from the celebrated Mrs. Siddons," to whom he behaved with a "great politeness" founded on a respect he did not often allow himself to feel for players.‡ "Frank could not immediately provide her with a chair," and Johnson, with one of his sudden fits of courtliness, exclaimed, "You see, Madam, wherever *you* go there are no *seats* to be got."§

From Hawkins we learn that about this period Johnson admitted Mrs. Barber and her "encumbrances" into his household. Anna Williams had died on 6 September 1783,|| and this possibly permitted of the new arrangement. Hawkins, after insinuating that Mrs. Barber had been unfaithful to her husband,¶ complains that "notwithstanding which, Johnson, in the excess of indiscriminating benevolence, about a year before his death, took the wife and both the children, into his house, and made them a part of his family."** Where they had lived before we do not know, but probably close by. Murphy says that "by the death of Mrs. Williams he was left in a state of destitution, with nobody but Frank, his black servant, to soothe his anxious moments."††

Mrs. Piozzi considered "that Francis was scarcely as much the object of Mr. Johnson's personal kindness, as the representative of Dr. Bathurst, for whose sake he would have loved any body, or any

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 142.

† *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 331.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 241-2.

§ Piozzi's *Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson*, 1788, ii., 387.

|| *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 331.

¶ See p. 28.

** Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 586, footnote.

†† Murphy's *Essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson*, 1792, p. 122¹

thing."* Possibly his respect for the memory of his friend inclined him towards consideration for the negro; but he seems to have had quite a spontaneous affection for his humble dependent. "Whenever disputes arose in his household among the many odd inhabitants of which it consisted, he always sided with Francis against the others, whom he suspected (not unjustly, I believe) of greater malignity."† I think that here Mrs. Piozzi has probably laid bare the main cause of Johnson's affectionate regard for Frank—that there was in him none of the malevolence which shows itself in the products of more advanced civilization. Faults no doubt he had in plenty, but they were the faults of a child, due more to want of restraint than to any spirit of constructive wickedness. "Francis was indeed no small favourite with his master," to quote Mrs. Piozzi again, "who retained however a prodigious influence over his most violent passions."‡ And Baretti sought a poor consolation for the fact that Johnson had not mentioned him and other friends in his will in the reflection that he would not

have been much pleased, if he had taken notice of us all, and left ever so small a token of his friendship to each of us, as, so far, it would have been a diminution of the little, that he bequeathed to my friend Frank, who from his earliest youth served him with the greatest affection and disinterestedness.§

That Johnson never allowed Frank to forget the debt which he owed to his first master, for bringing him under the influence of Christian teaching, is pathetically evidenced in the intimacy of his "Prayers and Meditations." On Good Friday, 14 April 1775, after Boswell had left him, he records how he "gave Francis some directions for preparation to communicate."|| And on Easter Day, 4 April 1779, we read that he had "for some nights called Francis to prayers, and last night discoursed with him on the sacrament."¶ "I prayed in my chamber with Frank," he simply records on 16 April 1781.** And

* Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1786, p. 212. Murphy, too, speaks of Frank as one "whom, on account of his master, he valued to the end of his life" (*Essay*, p. 56).

† Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, pp. 212-13.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 210-11.

§ Joseph Baretti's *Tolondron*, London, 1786, p. 148.

|| *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, i., 71, and *Boswell*, ii., 359.

¶ *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, i., 90.

** *Ibid.* i., 98.

again on Sunday, 17 March 1782, we read:—" I read a Greek Chapter, prayed with Francis, which I now do commonly, and explained to him the Lord's Prayer."* On 18, 19, 20 and 30 March, he likewise records that he " prayed with Francis."† We cannot ask for a more moving picture than that of Johnson, casting entirely aside the arrogance of intellectual pride and, humble before his God, joining his prayers with those of the simple, half-educated negro.

* *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, i., 103.

† *Ibid.* i., 103, 104, 107.

CHAPTER V

HIS MASTER'S LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH

Johnson ill with dropsy—Begins to think of disposal of his fortune—Hawkins presses him to make a will—His condition grows worse—Hawkins prevails—Johnson's care for Frank's future—William Windham to protect Frank—Johnson makes another will—Frank's position secured—Incidents of the last few days—Fanny Burney's final visits—Miss Morris, to whom Johnson's last words were spoken: her family history—Frank with his master to the end—Attends the funeral in Westminster Abbey—"More Last Words of Dr. Johnson": a foolish satire.

IN December 1783, a year before his death, Johnson was suffering from dropsy. He sent for Sir John Hawkins, told him that he wished to make a will, and requested him to be one of the executors. Hawkins consented, and thereupon, he tells us, Johnson "gave me to understand, that he meant to make a provision for his servant Frank, of about £70 a year for life, and concerted with me a plan for investing a sum sufficient for the purpose: at the same time he opened to me the state of his circumstances, and the amount of what he had to dispose of."* So seriously did Johnson regard his condition a few days later, that in the morning he ordered Frank to admit no one to him; and that the negro's simple brain might be made to realize the seriousness of the charge, he "added these awful words, 'For your master is preparing himself to die.'"[†] Having made up his mind, however, in this way, he very soon began to recover.

On 19 April 1784 Fanny Burney records in her diary how she "went in the evening to see dear Dr. Johnson," and was invited "to dine with him next day, on a salmon from Mrs. Thrale." She did not dare to refuse, but would "rather have dined first, on account of poor Blacky."[‡] Presumably Fanny did not like the idea of being waited on

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 563.

[†] *Ibid.* p. 564.

[‡] *D'Arlay's Diary*, ed. Austin Dobson, ii., 252.

by a negro; or, perhaps, to feel that he might have assisted in the preparation of the food.

In the early part of 1784 Hawkins "frequently pressed him to make a will," but with no effect.* On 3 June Johnson and Boswell left Bolt Court by the coach for a fortnight's holiday at Oxford—"Frank had been sent by his master the day before to take places for us."† Boswell "was surprised at his talking without reserve in the publick post-coach of the state of his affairs." "I have," remarked Johnson to him, "about the world I think above a thousand pounds, which I intend shall afford Frank an annuity of seventy pounds a year."‡ On 13 July, a few weeks after his return from Oxford, Johnson left London again on what was destined to be his last visit to the haunts of his early life. After a few days at Lichfield, he moved on to Ashbourne, where he arrived on 19 July.§ While he was at Ashbourne, Hawkins continued to press him, by letter, to make a will.|| When he returned to London, on 16 November,¶ Hawkins found that he had still done nothing, and again forced the question upon his attention. "I now added," says Sir John, "that he had never mentioned to me the disposal of the residue of his estate, which, after the purchase of an annuity for Frank, I found would be something considerable, and that he would do well to bequeath it to his relations. His answer was, 'I care not what becomes of the residue.' "***

His condition now became worse. John Hoole records how on 20 November Johnson "desired me to stay that night and join in prayer with him; adding, that he always went to prayer every night with his man Francis;" and how later the three of them prayed together.†† On the evening of 25 November Hoole found Johnson,

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 575.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 283.

‡ *Ibid.* iv., 284. While at Oxford, on 7 June, Johnson wrote to his landlord, Edmund Allen, asking him to "pay Betsy Barber five shillings a week" (see footnote, p. 27). Whether this represented wages, or an allowance for housekeeping, is not apparent. Levett, when alive, had acted as paymaster during Johnson's absence from home (see p. 26); now the old physician was no more Allen evidently, as friend and neighbour, acted in that capacity.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 353.

|| Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 575.

¶ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 377.

*** Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 575-6.

†† *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 146.

who "could scarce speak," setting out for Islington, "accompanied by his servant Frank and Mr. Lowe the painter."* Two days later we find Hawkins still hammering away on his favourite topic: he "began to discourse with him about his will, and the provision for Frank, till he grew angry." Johnson was then spending the day with the Rev. George Strahan at Islington, and, "at length, he said, that on his return home, he would send for a clerk, and dictate a will to him."† Hawkins, however, pointed out that it should be done under his advice, and prevailed over the procrastination of the Doctor, who, after drafting an opening to the will in consonance with his religious faith, mentioned several bequests of which he had thought.‡ Boswell tells us that

having no near relations, it had been for some time Johnson's intention to make a liberal provision for his faithful servant, Mr. Francis Barber, whom he looked upon as particularly under his protection, and whom he had all along treated truly as an humble friend.§

Or, to continue the tale in Hawkins's words,

His next consideration was, a provision for Frank, concerning the amount whereof I found he had been consulting Dr. Brocklesby, to whom he had put this question—"What would be a proper annuity to bequeath to a favourite servant?"—The doctor answered, that the circumstances of the master were the truest measure, and that, in the case of a nobleman, £50 a year was deemed an adequate reward for many years' faithful service.—"Then, shall I," said Johnson, "be nobilissimus; for, I mean to leave Frank £70 a year, and I desire you to tell him so." And now, at the making of the will, a devise, equivalent to such a provision, was therein inserted.||

When Frank brought him a note on 30 November Johnson told Hoole that "an odd thought struck him, that 'one should receive no letters in the grave.'" ¶ On Sunday, 5 December, Johnson came down to meet various friends in the dining-room. "The sacrament was then administered to all present, Frank being of the number."*** On 7 December he received his friend William Windham, that brilliant

* *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 148.

† *Hawkins's Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 579.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 581.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 401.

¶ *Hawkins's Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 581. See also Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 401: Boswell has clearly drawn his account of the same incident almost word for word from the despised Hawkins.

¶ *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 153.

** *Ibid.* ii., 155.

and versatile statesman, in his bed chamber. Windham relates how Johnson earnestly impressed upon him that amid the cares of civil employment he should not forget the care of his soul.

He then told me that he had a request to make to me, namely, that I would allow his servant Frank to look up to me as his friend, adviser, and protector in all difficulties which his own weakness and imprudence, or the force or fraud of others, might bring him into. He said that he had left him what he considered an ample provision, viz. £70 per annum; but that even that sum might not place him above the want of a protector, and to me therefore he recommended him, as to one who had will, and power, and activity to protect him. Having obtained my assent to this, he proposed that Frank should be called in, and desiring me to take him by the hand in token of the promise, repeated before him the recommendation he had just made of him, and the promise I had given to attend to it.*

The will which Johnson had made on 27 November he considered only a "temporary one," and when Hawkins visited him on 8 December he "arrived just time enough to direct the execution, and also the attestation of" a will which Johnson was dictating to the Rev. George Strahan.† The will, the final one, does not actually mention the annuity to Frank, but only the sum of "seven hundred and fifty pounds in the hands of Bennet Langton, Esq.," on which, as we shall see, it was payable. The residue, about which Hawkins had troubled, he left to Frank in the following terms:—

The rest of the aforesaid sums of money and property, together with my books, plate, and household furniture, I leave to the before-mentioned Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir John Hawkins, and Dr. William Scott, also in trust, to be applied, after paying my debts, to the use of Francis Barber, my man-servant, a negro, in such a manner as they shall judge most fit and available to his benefit.‡

Hawkins visited Johnson again on the evening of the next day, 9 December, and "found him dictating, to Mr. Strahan, a codicil to the will he had made the evening before." The lawyer's assistance was again found useful,§ especially as the codicil was about twice as long as the will itself. Frank's position was now better defined and secured.

And whereas the said Bennet Langton hath agreed, in consideration of the sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds, mentioned in my Will to be in his hands,

* *Diary of the Rt. Hon. William Windham*, ed. Mrs. Henry Baring, 1866, p. 28.

† *Hawkins's Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 585.

‡ *Birkbeck Hill's Boswell*, iv., 402, footnote.

§ *Hawkins's Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 585-6.

to grant and secure an annuity of seventy pounds payable during the life of me and my servant, Francis Barber, and the life of the survivor of us, to Mr. George Stubbs,* in trust for us; my mind and will is, that in case of my decease before the said agreement shall be perfected, the said sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds, and the bond for securing the said sum, shall go to the said Francis Barber; and I hereby give and bequeath to him the same, in lieu of the bequest in his favour, contained in my said Will. . . . All the rest, residue, and remainder, of my estate and effects, I give and bequeath to my said Executors, in trust for the said Francis Barber, his Executors and Administrators.†

Frank was in constant attendance upon his master until his death a few days later. Thomas David Boswell, the biographer's brother, describes Johnson's never-ceasing care for the negro's spiritual welfare.

The Doctor, from the time that he was certain his death was near, appeared to be perfectly resigned, was seldom or never fretful or out of temper, and often said to his faithful servant, who gave me this account, "Attend, Francis, to the salvation of your soul, which is the object of greatest importance:" he also explained to him passages in the scripture, and seemed to have pleasure in talking upon religious subjects.‡

John Kemble told John Taylor, on the authority of Malone, that when Mr. Steevens called, during the doctor's last illness, to inquire how he was, the black servant went and told the doctor that Mr. Steevens waited below. "Where is he?" said the doctor. "On the outside of the street-door," was the answer. "The best place for him," was the reply.§

Fanny Burney relates how, when she called at Bolt Court during Johnson's last illness, "Frank Barber, the faithful negro, told her, with great sorrow, that his master was very bad indeed, though he did not keep his bed. The poor man," she adds, "would have shewn her upstairs," but she did not care then to intrude.|| On Friday, 10 December,

* This George Stubbs was elder son of George Stubbs, of Parliament Street, Westminster, Keeper of the Records of the Court of Common Pleas, who died 7 September 1794, aged 79. He himself was an attorney, first in Suffolk Street and afterwards in Great George Street, Westminster. He married 7 August 1777 Mary, daur. of Sir James Esdaile (Lord Mayor 1778), and died 19 August 1808, aged 70. She died 2 August 1802, aged 47, and is buried at Upminster in Essex, by her husband (information of Lieut. Col. Richard John Fynmore: see p. 59, footnote).

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 403-4, footnote.

‡ *Ibid.* iv., 417.

§ *Records of My Life*, by the late John Taylor, 1832, ii., 44.

|| *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, by Madame D'Arblay, 1832, iii., 9.

Dr. Burney at night received "the alarming intelligence from Frank Barber, that Dr. Warren had seen his master, and told him that he might take what opium he pleased for the alleviation of his pains."* "You have come in," Dr. Johnson had said, "at the eleventh hour; but you shall be paid the same with your fellow-labourers. Francis, put into Dr. Warren's coach a copy of the English Poets."† Fanny Burney had called the same evening. "Frank told me he was very ill, but let me in. He would have taken me upstairs, but I would not see him without his direct permission. I desired Frank to tell him I called to pay my respects to him, but not to disturb him if he was not well enough to see me."‡ She gained no interview, and on Sunday, 12 December, called again: "She summoned Frank Barber, and told him she had understood, from her father, that Dr. Johnson had meant to see her. Frank then, but in silence, conducted her to the parlour. . . Frank went upstairs; but did not return." Fanny waited below; and it was not until several hours had elapsed that Bennet Langton came down. In her diary she tells us that she remained downstairs because the upstairs room was crowded, and that she spent part of the time upon the stairs, which she "ascended and descended to meet again with Frank," whom she saw at last enter Johnson's room, followed by Langton. When Langton did come down he mournfully announced that the invalid was "going on to death very fast." He told Fanny that he understood from Frank that Johnson desired yesterday to see her; but that now he felt himself "too weak for such an interview."§

When William Windham called at 3.30 in the afternoon of Monday, he was told by John Desmoulins how Johnson, during the night, "had compelled Frank to give him a lancet" with which to make incisions to relieve himself of blood. Mr. Desmoulins had made a difficulty of giving it to him, when he exclaimed, "'Don't you, if you have any scruples; but I will compel Frank'; and on Mr. Des Moulins

* *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, by Madame D'Arblay, 1832, iii., 10.

† Anecdotes by Richard Greene of Lichfield: *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 398-9.

‡ *D'Arblay's Diary*, ed. Austin Dobson, ii., 278. She wrongly dates this entry "Wednesday, Dec. 10," instead of Friday.

§ *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, by Madame D'Arblay, iii., 13-15; and *D'Arblay's Diary*, ed. Austin Dobson, ii., 280-81.

attempting afterwards to prevent Frank from giving it to him, and at last to restrain his hands, he grew very outrageous, so much so as to call Frank 'scoundrel,' and to threaten Mr. Des Moulins that he would stab him."*

Thomas David Boswell tells us† that during the day

a Miss Morris,‡ daughter to a particular friend of his, called, and said to Francis,

* *Diary of Rt. Hon. William Windham*, ed. Mrs. Henry Baring, 1866, pp. 31-2.

† See Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 417-18.

‡ Hoole's "narrative" confirms the incident here related. Under Monday, 13 December, he noted:—"Went to Bolt Court at eleven o'clock in the morning; met a young lady coming down stairs from the Doctor, whom, upon inquiry, I found to be Miss Morris (a sister to Miss Morris, formerly on the stage). Mrs. De Moulins told me that she had seen the Doctor; that by her desire he had been told she came to ask his blessing, and that he said, 'God bless you!'" According to this "narrative," however, Johnson did make some trivial remarks afterwards about the way in which a cup was handed to him (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 159).

Little attention has been paid to the identity of the lady to whom Johnson's last (or last recorded) words were spoken; and some of the slender notes concerning her contain serious error. Croker described her as "the sister of a lady of the same name who appeared on the stage at Covent Garden as Juliet, in 1768, and died next year. She was a relation of Mr. Corbyn Morris, commissioner of the customs" (Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 807, footnote). The death of "Miss Morris, a promising young actress at Covent Garden Theatre," on 1 May 1769, is noticed in *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1769, p. 271; and in *London Mag.*, 1769, p. 396. "Musgrave's Obituary" (*Harleian Society*, xlvii., 242), giving no other authority than these two entries, describes her as "niece of Corbyn Morris." Tom Taylor, also, says that "Corbyn Morris, this young lady's uncle, was a Commissioner of Customs" (Leslie and Taylor's *Reynolds*, i., 324, footnote). But the Misses Morris were daughters of Valentine Morris, Governor of the Island of St. Vincent's, in the West Indies, who certainly was not brother to Corbyn Morris, or any relation so far as is known (see pedigree of Morris in Vere Langford Oliver's *History of Antigua*, ii., 272-3). I have obtained an abstract of the will of Corbyn Morris, dated 1 October 1779, in which he describes himself as of Wimbledon, esquire, late one of His Majesty's commissioners of the customs, and in which, beyond his wife Mary and his daughter Elizabeth, wife of John Hale, esq., he mentions no relative except his brother Mr. David Morris, of Fulneck, par. of Coverley, West Riding of Yorks., to whom he confirms an annuity of £20 purchased from himself by David, many years since, and adds £10 a year to it. To Mrs. Anne Turner, long an acquaintance in his family, he leaves £50 for her many faithful services. He confirms to his wife the settlement of £12,000 made prior to their marriage; and leaves the residue on trust for his daughter. He leaves £21 to his exor., his friend Richard Croft of Pall Mall, esq., and £10 10s. to Mrs. Croft his wife (Richard Croft of Pall Mall, banker, died 1 June 1793, and Mrs. Croft 6 August 1790; see *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1793, p. 578, and 1790, p. 768), and appoints the former sole exor. Wits., Geo. Slater, surgeon in High Street, Margate, Elith. Andrews, grocer in Margate, and Jacob Jawkins, attorney in Margate. On 9 November 1780 admon. was granted in P.C.C. (Collins 531) to Mary Morris, the widow, because the exor. named and also Elizabeth Hale, widow, daughter of decd., had renounced both execution and

that she begged to be permitted to see the Doctor, that she might earnestly

admon. On 1 December 1789 admon. of goods left unadministered was granted to Ann Turner, one of the exors. of said Mary Morris, now likewise dead.

There does not seem to be record of Johnson having known Corbyn Morris, but Boswell speaks of him as "my old acquaintance" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 105, footnote). The account of him in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* tells us nothing of his origin, parentage, or family, except that he married a Mrs. Wright on 15 September 1758 (his widow Mary died 29 January 1787, in New Norfolk Street, Grosvenor Square; see *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1787, p. 182). Possibly he was the Corbyn Morris who married, "after 25 February 1728," Elizabeth, daur. of Thomas Edward Fanshawe, of Great Singleton, Lancs., who married Elizabeth Snelling in 1714 (Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1906, "Fanshawe of Dengey Hall," Essex). He (the commissioner) died 24 December 1779; his age is not stated, but he first attracted attention by a pamphlet published in 1741-2 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). And I find that on 8 May 1733 a Treasury warrant was issued to the Customs Commissioners for Corbyn Morris to be sworn deputy to Samuel Clerke, King's Waiter, London port, in the place of Charles Baynton, dismissed (*Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers preserved in P.R.O.*, vol. viii. [1731-34], p. 519). By next month, however, he had vacated the post (*ibid.* p. 521), and on 16 November 1733 he was appointed deputy to William Jennings, one of the 5 under searchers, London port (*ibid.* p. 525).

Oliver's pedigree shews that Valentine Morris was the only son and heir of Valentine Morris of Antigua, by Elizabeth his second wife, daughter of Nicholas Wilmot, whom he married in 1720. He was under 17 in 1742. In 1772 he was appointed Lieut. Governor, and in 1776 Governor of St. Vincent; and in 1779 he was superseded. He died 26 August 1789, in Bloomsbury Square.

These are the bare facts of his life, which was a chequered one. From wealth and luxury he descended to poverty and the debtor's prison. From his father, who died in 1742, he inherited not only property in Antigua, but also the beautiful estate of Piercefield, on the Wye near Chepstow, purchased in 1740. It was by the elaborate way in which he laid out this estate, and the lavish hospitality which he extended there to rich and poor alike, that he became famous. His grounds were always open to the public, and servants attended the visitors. Envied by Shenstone, whose gardening was on a more modest scale, he was a man possessed of many excellent qualities, refined and cultured, but his quixotic generosity, accompanied by a taste for gambling, brought a natural reward in the wreckage of his finances. He was forced to retire to his estate in Antigua, and later received the appointments, already mentioned, at St. Vincent. When he was superseded in 1779 he returned to England, and was then arrested and confined in the King's Bench Prison, not obtaining his release until 1786, some three years before his death (see accounts of him in *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1789, pp. 862-4, and William Coxe's *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, 1801, pt. ii., pp. 392-7; also Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, viii., 184, and G. W. Manby's *Historic Guide to Monmouthshire*, 1802, p. 271).

Valentine Morris was married in December 1748, at Somerset House Chapel (Oliver's *Antigua*, loc. cit.), to Mary, elder daur. of the Hon. and Rev. George Mordaunt (son of John, Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon [1627-75], the devoted Royalist, and brother of Charles Mordaunt [1658-1735], the celebrated third Earl of Peterborough, whom Johnson described (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 333) as "a favourite of mine, and not enough known"), by Elizabeth his third wife, daur. of Col. Collyer (Burke's *Extinct Peerages*). Mrs. Morris "had no other fortune than beauty, virtue, and good sense" (*Gent.'s Mag.*, loc. cit.). When her husband was in the King's Bench Prison she was confined in a mad-house on the other side of London; she was still there at the time of

request him to give her his blessing. Francis went into his room, followed by

his death (*ibid.*). Well might Miss Morris seek the Doctor's blessing, when both her parents were parted from her by circumstances so distressing.

Northcote says that Mrs. Morris came to England "on the death of her husband" (this, of course, is incorrect), "with a son and two daughters, and also a negro slave, who afterwards became the servant of Sir Joshua" (see p. 105). The daughter already alluded to as taking the part of Juliet is described by Northcote as "a beautiful young lady, who, from the unexpected misfortunes of her family, was reduced to the necessity of seeking some employment for a livelihood; and being supposed to have requisite talents for the stage, she was advised by her friends to attempt it as a profession." Reynolds, Johnson and others "who were her particular friends and patrons," supported her on her first appearance as Juliet at Covent Garden Theatre on 29 November 1768, but she broke down painfully. She "shortly after fell into a deep decline," and died, as already stated, on 1 May 1769. Her portrait, as "Hope Nursing Love," was exhibited by Reynolds at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1769, which opened on 26 April, five days before her death, and closed 27 May (James Northcote's *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Supplement*, 1815, pp. li, lii.; see also Leslie and Taylor's *Reynolds*, 1865, i., 323, and *Art Journal*, 1892, article by Frances A. Gerard on "Sir Joshua Reynolds and His Models," pp. 19 and 22). There seems to be no proof of when exactly this portrait was painted. "Miss Morris" occurs among Reynolds's own lists of his sitters on three separate occasions—September 1766, January 1768 and January 1769 (Leslie and Taylor's *Reynolds*, i., 266, 311 and 346), and Taylor indexes her in each case as Valentine Morris's daughter. No doubt he is correct, even though he has probably only jumped at a conclusion; Messrs. Graves and Cronin (*History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, ii., 670) also say of this picture that Miss Morris sat in 1766, 1768 and 1769. No doubt, too, the sitting she gave in January 1769 was for the picture of "Hope Nursing Love." If this was so, her health was not yet seriously affected after her breakdown on the stage little more than a month before. A "Miss Morris" who sat in April 1757 is described as one of the daughters of "Mr. Morris of Swansea" (Leslie and Taylor's *Reynolds*, i., 156). He was Robert Morris, of Tredegar, who married Margaret, daur. and heir of David Jenkins, and was father of Sir John Morris [1745–1819], 1st bart. of Clasemont (Burke's *Peerage*). Robert Morris died early in 1768 (*Gent. Mag.*, 1768, p. 198); his widow died 12 December 1786, aged 85 (*ibid.* 1786, p. 1147). Leslie and Taylor say that "Mr. Morris of Swansea" had three daughters, Mrs. Desenfans, Mrs. Lockwood, and one who died unmarried. But Burke shews three daughters all married, (1) Bridget, to Thomas Lockwood (see Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, "Lockwood of Dews Hall"), (2) Margaret, to Noel Desenfans (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Noel Joseph Desenfans [1745–1807], picture dealer), and (3) Jane, to Edward King, of Marino, Glamorgans. One "Mrs. Morris" sat to Reynolds in January 1755, in March 1757, and in November 1759, and a footnote to the first entry suggests that the sitter was either Mrs. Valentine Morris, or Mrs. Morris of Swansea (Leslie and Taylor's *Reynolds*, i., 144, 156, 178). Reynolds certainly seems to have painted Mrs. Valentine Morris in 1767, for it appears from one of Taylor's footnotes that in March of that year the artist made a note:—"Mrs. Morris's picture and the other to be directed to Val. Morris, Esq., Piercefield, Monmouthshire" (*ibid.* i., 282). Yet her name is not down as sitting in that month; not until the September of 1767 does "Mrs. Morris" occur in the lists (*ibid.* i., 283). Messrs. Leslie and Taylor, however, are far from scientific in their methods, and they insert the note in question as a footnote bearing upon March, without any explanation of how or where it occurs.

the young lady, and delivered the message. The Doctor turned himself in the

Oliver's pedigree, following the *Art Journal* article, gives Valentine Morris three children besides the daughter who died in 1769, but names none of them. I have not discovered the evidence for four children, and, failing it, accept Northcote's "son and two daughters." It would be interesting to know the exact date when Valentine Morris gave up Piercefield and retired to the West Indies. Northcote and those who follow him tell us that Mrs. Morris and her children had returned to England from the West Indies at the time of Miss Morris's appearance upon the stage in 1768. But this seems to be an error. Coxe and the *Gent.'s Mag.* account agree in saying that one of the last and principal causes of Valentine Morris's financial embarrassments and his consequent retirement to the West Indies was the great expense to which he was put in unsuccessfully contesting the county against John Morgan of Tredegar; and this was in 1771. So far, therefore, from his wife and daughter having "returned" to this country by 1768, it would appear that none of them left Piercefield until 1771, or perhaps 1772, the year of his being appointed Lieut. Governor of St. Vincent. I may mention that Lord Pembroke, writing to Garrick on 24 March 1768, speaks of some foreign friends visiting, amongst other estates, "Messrs. (?) Morris's near Chepstow" (*Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, 1831, i., 293). And we have already seen, from one of Reynolds's notes, that Valentine Morris was at Piercefield in 1767, and was having his wife's portrait painted. Again, the Rev. Arthur Young [1741-1820], writing in 1768 of a recent visit to "Mr. Morris's delightful place at Persfield," makes it clear that the owner was then in residence with a proper staff of servants (see review of his *Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, in *Monthly Review*, 1768, xxxviii., 226-32). This all suggests that the *débâcle* was yet to come; as indeed seems to be made almost certain by a letter of Mrs. Delany's from Bulstrode, where she was the guest of the Duchess of Portland, dated 6 September 1768. In this letter, which, be it noted, was written less than three months before the Covent Garden episode, Mrs. Delany relates how "Mr. and Mrs. Morris of Piercefield" had spent the two preceding days at Bulstrode; and how they drove round the Park "and took very particular notice with admiration of everything as they have as fine a place of their own. We had much talk of the Mordaunts. . . Mrs. Morris is very civil and good-humoured, but she is very affected" (*Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, ed. Lady Llanover, 2nd series, 1862, i., 160). It therefore seems quite clear that though Miss Morris's advent at Covent Garden may have been due to some sense of insecurity as to her father's affairs, the family were not yet reduced to anything approaching poverty; and had not yet had to relinquish their high position in the county and in society generally.

On 28 July 1794 a Treasury Warrant was issued for £5,000 in favour of the "representatives" of "Valentine Morris, Esq., late Governor of St. Vincent," as part of a balance or surplussage of £5,666 9s. 0½d. due to him in connexion with his governorship (P.R.O., Treasury Books, King's Warrant Book, T. 52/81). Unfortunately the warrant does not state who his representatives were.

Beyond the statement by Boswell's brother, that Miss Morris was "daughter to a particular friend" of Johnson's, there seems to be no evidence that the Doctor was even acquainted with Valentine Morris. But genealogy, that most efficient handmaid of biography, tells us that some intercourse between them was not unlikely, for Morris was brother-in-law to Jonathan Shipley [1714-88], Bishop of St. Asaph, who married Mrs. Morris's eldest sister Anna Maria, daur. of the Hon. George Mordaunt by Elizabeth his second wife, daur. of Sir John D'Oyly, 1st bart. (*Burke's Extinct Peerages and Extinct Baronetcies*). Shipley and Johnson were very well acquainted; and that the Shipleys

bed, and said, "God bless you, my dear!" These were the last words he

and Morris fraternised is shewn by a remark of Mrs. Delany's, in 1768, that "Miss Shipley is to be some time with Mrs. Morris" (*Autobiography and Correspondence*, 2nd series, i., 160). Sir William Jones [1746-94], the orientalist, like the Bishop a member of the famous Literary Club, married his daur. Anna Maria Shipley in March 1783 (*Burke's Landed Gentry*, "Shipley of Twyford Moors"; and *Memoirs of Hannah More*, ed. William Roberts, 2nd ed., 1834, i., 278). Another of Shipley's daughters, Georgina, married Francis Hare-Naylor [1753-1815], and was mother of Augustus William Hare [1792-1834], and Julius Charles Hare [1795-1855]. Bishop Reginald Heber [1783-1826] married Shipley's grand-daughter, Amelia, daur. of William Davies Shipley [1745-1826], Dean of St. Asaph. Mrs. Piozzi, in her journal of the Welsh tour in 1774, speaks of Bishop Shipley's wife in terms which, as Mr. Broadley remarks, "are difficult to understand" (*Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale*, by A. M. Broadley, 1910, pp. 184-5), for a woman of aristocratic birth, "who, in her youth, was celebrated as 'the beautiful Miss Mordaunt,' and was Maid of Honour to Queen Caroline" (Augustus J. C. Hare's *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, 1872, i., 89), is not likely to have been so hopelessly plebeian as Mrs. Piozzi represented her. At least that excellent lady erred in assuming too quickly that the Bishop, in the humbler days of his curacies, had married a woman of low origin. Mrs. Delany, in 1768, wrote of Mrs. Morris, "I don't like her so well as her sister"—the sister being Mrs. Shipley (*Autobiography and Correspondence*, 2nd series, i., 160).

Dr. Birkbeck Hill (in an appendix to his *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, i., 421), prints two sets of verses by David Garrick, the first addressed to "Henry Wilmot, Esq., of Farnborough Place, Hants.," and the second to "Valentine Henry Wilmot, Henry Wilmot's only son." Dr. Birkbeck Hill would have been interested to know that this Henry Wilmot was Valentine Morris's brother-in-law, having married his sister Sarah Morris, who died 25 March 1793, aged 69 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1793, p. 378, says 1 April, "at Bath, universally lamented"). Henry Wilmot, who was a solicitor in Bloomsbury Square—the ill-fated Valentine Morris died at this house in 1789—had entered Gray's Inn in 1739; he died 3 August 1794, aged 84. Valentine Henry Wilmot, the only son, died 4 June 1819, aged 61, and is buried with his parents at Farnborough (Oliver's *Antigua*, ii., 272-3). Henry Wilmot had been "principal secretary to the Lord Chancellor, and solicitor of taxes" (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1794, p. 770, and *European Mag.*, 1794, pt. ii., p. 159). There is a letter from this Henry Wilmot, dated Bloomsbury Square, 18 July 1771, in *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, i., 428, in which he invites the great actor to Farnborough: the editor ascribes it to "the Chief Justice"! Among the "letters of uncertain date" is one headed "Mr. Wilmot to Mr. Garrick," but it is signed "S. Wilmot" (*ibid.* ii., 357) and is clearly from Henry Wilmot's wife, the sister of Valentine Morris. This is made clearer by a letter on the next page from Garrick to Mrs. Wilmot, from which it appears that she was trying to get him some sheep at Farnborough. He concludes, "My love to your aimiable sister and sweet daughter." This daughter was Elizabeth Sarah Wilmot, who on 17 September 1782 married James Seton (*Gent.'s Mag.*, p. 454). The Hon. Mrs. Boscawen, writing to Mrs. Delany on 26 September 1782, remarked:—"Miss Wilmot's marriage is in the newspaper, but I hear is not such as her parents can approve, I am therefore very sorry for them, as they seem'd vastly fond of her" (*Mrs. Delany's Autobiography*, 2nd series, iii., 113). Mrs. Seton died 5 February 1803, aged 43, at Clifton, leaving issue, for whom see *Burke's Landed Gentry*, under "Seton-Karr." Mrs. Wilmot is alluded to in a letter from Mrs. Elizabeth Griffith [1720?-93], the playwright, dated 15 June 1770, as "our good and amiable Mrs. Wilmot" (*Garrick's Correspondence*, i., 386); Mr. Wilmot, in letters from Dr. John Hoadly [1711-76], dated 8 February 1773,

spoke. His difficulty of breathing increased till about seven o'clock in the evening; when Mr. Barber and Mrs. Desmoulins, who were sitting in the room, observing that the noise he made in breathing had ceased, went to the bed, and found he was dead.

On the day following Johnson's death Frank went early in the morning to Sir John Hawkins, who "interrogated him very strictly concerning" the incident of the lancet and satisfied himself "that this act was not done to hasten his end, but to discharge the water that he conceived to be in him."*

The funeral took place in Westminster Abbey on 20 December,

and 19 September 1773 (*ibid.* i., 526, 570); and Mrs. Wilmot in a letter from the Rev. Evan Lloyd [1734-76], dated 1 January (? 1774), and in another from Lady Bathurst, dated 12 June 1777 (*ibid.* ii., 34, 228). Garrick was evidently on very friendly terms with the Wilmots, and perhaps it was partly through Mrs. Wilmot that her niece Miss Morris made her tragic appearance on the stage—though at Covent Garden—in 1768. From Burke's *Peerage*, under "Eardley-Wilmot," we learn that Valentine Henry Wilmot married, in 1789, Barbarina, daur. of Sir Chaloner Ogle, 1st bart. (she married, 2ndly, Thomas, 20th Lord Dacre), and had a daur. Arabella Jane, who in 1821 married the Rev. Frederick Sullivan and was mother of the late Admiral Sir Francis William Sullivan [1834-1906], 6th bart.

Oliver's pedigree shews Valentine Morris to have had, besides Mrs. Wilmot, another sister, "Caroline Morris, living 1742 and 1761." I find that she died, unmarried, 23 August 1797, and was buried at Farnborough (Nichols's *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. vii., 1841, p. 231). Her will, unfortunately, throws no light upon the question of her brother's family. Dated 11 August 1797, it was proved in P.C.C. [Exeter 608] 4 September 1797, by the sole exor., her nephew Valentine Henry Wilmot, the residuary legatee. To her niece Eliza Sarah, wife of James Seton, esq., she bequeaths £500; to her niece, Barbarina Wilmot, 100*l.*; to the Rev. George Gibson, of Godalming, £300; to Mrs. Catherine Hamilton, of Dublin, 100*l.*; and to her servant, Mrs. Alice Spencer, £300, all in the 4 per cent Bank Annuities. She describes herself as late of Farnborough, co. Hants., but now of Manchester Street, Marylebone, spinster. She bequeaths legacies varying from £3 3*s.* 6*d.* to £30 to her godson Henry Seton, Eliza and Caroline Seton, James Seton, jun., Arabella Wilmot, Mrs. Foxcroft, the Misses Sarah and Mary Cox, James Seton, sen., Miss Mary Allott, Miss Mary Tulloch, Mrs. Horne, Valentine Henry Wilmot, Eliz. Smith, Mrs. Willes, Eliz. Moody, Mrs. Bate of Peterborough, John Bowden and his wife, Mrs. Millington, Mrs. Lamb of Overton, Mrs. Kennicott, Mrs. Nicholl, Mrs. Bates, Mrs. Tucker, Rev. Mr. Richards, Mr. Thomas Dunn, Ann Williams, Charlotte Rice, Mrs. Margaret Rowles, goddaur. Caroline Rowles, John Clements, Charlotte Huckle, Daniel Rowles, jun., John Morgan, Robert Tussler, Mrs. Elsmore, Jane Holford, Andrew McKindle, Mrs. Green's maid Hannah, Mrs. Pettit, Harriet Rest, and Mrs. Mary and Mrs. Catherine Dubois. She desires to be buried in the vault in Farnborough Place next her sister Wilmot. The wits. to the will were Elizabeth Tucker and Wm. Dunn.

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 588-9.

and the name of "Frank" occurs in the list of those present to pay respect to the memory of his master.* A passage in Miss Hawkins's memoirs seems to suggest that one of Mrs. Barber's relatives acted as undertaker.

When the funeral was to be arranged, and a proper person to conduct it, was to be treated with, Francis interposed a low connexion of his wife's, and Sir J. H. very wisely gave way, considering, perhaps, that he who had lived like Johnson, needed not to be buried with the precision of rank; the numerous attendance of friends spoke sufficiently that it was no common personage whose remains were conveying to the mausoleum of royalty, learning, genius, and wit.†

Mrs. Barber's maiden name has not been traced, and no suggestion can be offered as to the identity of her "low connexion."

In 1787 was published in London an octavo pamphlet entitled *More Last Words of Dr. Johnson, consisting of Important and Valuable Anecdotes, and A Curious Letter from a Medical Gentleman, Now published, for the first time, from the Doctor's Manuscripts, with some original and interesting Stories of A Private Nature, relative to that great man. To which are added Several singular and unaccountable Facts relative to his Biographical Executor, formerly Chairman of the Quarter-Sessions. By Francis, Barber. London. Printed for the Author; And sold by E. Rich, Bookseller, at No. 55, in Fleet Street; it may also be had at the two Universities. M,DCC,LXXXVII.* The preface thus begins:—

The following leaves, I may venture to conjecture, will afford the greatest rational entertainment to all lovers of literary anecdote. They abound with passages of the most refined delicacy and elevated morality. . . . It is necessary to observe that I am not the late Dr. Johnson's black, but his white, servant. My name is Francis, and I had the honour of dressing his wig, and being admitted into his confidence.

This production I have not been able to see myself, but there is a copy in the British Museum Library. I am told that it is "only a satire of a rather obscene sort on the intimate character of many of

* *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 434.

† *Memoirs, etc.*, by Lætitia Matilda Hawkins, 1824, i., 154.

Boswell's anecdotes." It would be interesting, nevertheless, to know the identity of the writer who thus sheltered himself by a punning* use of Frank's names.

* The " Barber " on the title page is evidently divided from the " Francis," by a comma, so that it may appear as a trade description; and the reference in the preface to dressing Johnson's wig is introduced to harmonize with this intentionally transparent device

CHAPTER VI

INHERITS HIS MASTER'S FORTUNE

Hawkins condemns Johnson's bequest—Humphrey Heely's claims on Johnson—Miss Hawkins supports her father against Frank—Johnson's lunatic cousin, Elizabeth Herne—Hawkins holds back Johnson's watch—Porson's ironical version of the story—The watch and its history—Dr. Birkbeck Hill discovers a mare's nest—Hawkins and the diary—Johnsonian treasures we owe to Frank—The "Journey into North Wales"—Particulars of Frank's annuity from the Record Office—The wisdom of the bequest considered.

HAWKINS estimated the value of the bequest to Frank in one place at "full fifteen hundred pounds,"* and in another at "little short of £1500."† Essentially mean in his judgments, and with a strong apparent bias against Frank, he would admit no merit to Johnson for his generosity, and no qualities in the servant to deserve it.

How much soever I approve of the practice of rewarding the fidelity of servants, I cannot but think that, in testamentary dispositions in their favour, some discretion ought to be exercised; and that, in scarce any instance they are to be preferred to those who are allied to the testator either in blood or by affinity. Of the merits of this servant, a judgment may be formed from what I shall hereafter have occasion to say of him.‡

And elsewhere he takes another opportunity to advance similar views, and depreciate Frank:—

Of this negro-servant much has been said, by those who knew little or nothing of him, in justification of that partiality which Johnson shewed for him, and his neglect of his own necessitous relations.§

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 586, footnote.

† *Ibid.* p. 596. Murphy (*Essay*, 1792, p. 134), and Boswell (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 404, footnote), simply follow Hawkins in placing the value of Barber's bequest at "about," or "little short of," £1500.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 586, footnote.

§ *Ibid.* p. 328.

After giving a copy of Johnson's will, Hawkins adds the following "postscript," because, he pleads in defence of his vindictive attack upon Frank, the "facts are so connected with the transactions of Dr. Johnson in the latter days of his life, that they are part of his history."*

The foregoing instrument carries into effect the resolution of Dr. Johnson, to be, with respect to his negro-servant, *nobilissimus*; but the many lavish encomiums that have been bestowed on this act of bounty, make it necessary to mention some particulars, subsequent to his death, that will serve to shew the short-sightedness of human wisdom, and the effects of ill-directed benevolence.†

He then proceeds to point out that, in contrast to what Frank received, Johnson's relatives only benefited to the extent of £235 under the will; and to animadvert upon the negro's treatment of one Humphrey Heely,‡ who had the powerful claim upon Johnson's estate that *his first wife had been the daughter of Johnson's mother's brother!*

A few days after the doctor's decease, Francis came to me, and informed me, that a relation of his master's, named Humphrey Heely, who, with his wife, had lately, upon the request of the doctor to the bishop of Rochester,§ been placed in an alms-house at Westminster, was in great necessity, as wanting money to buy bedding and cloaths. I told him, that seeing he was so great a gainer by his master's will, as to be possessed of almost the whole of his fortune, it behoved him to have compassion on this his relation, and to supply his wants. His reply was—"I cannot afford it."||

We do not know the measure of Hawkins's generosity under similar circumstances; but we may sympathise with Frank in declining to commit himself to the support of a person confessedly improvident, and whom it is absurd to suggest had any legitimate claim upon Johnson, much less upon Frank. Boswell, perhaps equally moved by a desire to protect Johnson's memory and to put Hawkins in the

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 602.

† *Ibid.* p. 596.

‡ See my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 157-8.

§ John Thomas [1712-93], Bishop of Rochester from 1774, had been vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, 1766-68 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Johnson had stayed at Rochester for a fortnight in July 1783, with Bennet Langton (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 233).

|| Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 596.

wrong, deals with the case of Heely in order "to refute a very unjust reflection, by Sir John Hawkins, both against Dr. Johnson, and his faithful servant, Mr. Francis Barber."* "Nowhere," says Dr. Birkbeck Hill, "does Hawkins more shew the malignancy of his character than in his attacks on Johnson's black servant, and through him on Johnson."†

Hawkins's daughter, who well maintained her father's attitude towards Frank, even after a lapse of forty years, devotes some five pages of her "Memoirs" to an account of Heely,‡ whom Johnson's treatment put "undeservedly below that worthless being whom he smothered with ostentatious munificence, and eventually ruined by it."§

I know it has been considered an offence of a heinous magnitude, to weigh any claim against the *merits* of Mr. Francis Barber, merits that had no foundation, but in his consultation of his own interest or the perverseness of his admirers; but unless Johnson had, when making his will, entirely lost all recollection of Heely, I know nothing that can excuse his petulant refusal to consider how the residue of his property should be disposed of. My father urged that and every other point of religious and moral obligation, with the gentleness of a divine, and the skill of a lawyer. He had only his own integrity to requite him.||

We may be excused for smiling at the thought of Sir John Hawkins mingling clerical suavity with legal guile in order to persuade Johnson of his obligation to provide for a person only distantly connected with him and unrelated by blood; and may sympathise with a lawyer whose advice gained him no more substantial reward than the contemplation of his own integrity. We need not blame Miss Hawkins for her attacks upon Frank, which represent a perverted form of filial piety. No doubt the negro's conduct sometimes laid itself

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 370.

† *Ibid.* iv., 441.

‡ It is worth while to quote her description of Heely's appearance:—"He had been a tall athletic hard-favoured man, labouring under the misfortune of great lameness from a contracted knee: his demeanour, though perfectly consonant to his low estate, had a liberal yeoman's character about it, that spoke of better days. He was the scathed oak of a former century: but a few arid symptoms of foliage testified that he had once been leafy" (*Memoirs*, etc., by Lætitia Matilda Hawkins, 1824, i., 223).

§ *Ibid.* i., 224.

|| *Ibid.* i., 222.

open to criticism. And as regards Heely, if we are to believe Miss Hawkins—which some of Johnson's letters incline us to doubt*—he was quite a noble-hearted old gentleman.

Hawkins also cites the case of Johnson's lunatic cousin, Elizabeth Herne, and her annuity, as a "notable instance of the craft and selfishness of the doctor's negro-servant."

At the time of his master's death, Mrs. Herne's maintenance was about 30*l.* in arrear. I was applied to for the money, and shewed the bill to him, upon which he immediately went to the mad-house, and endeavoured to prevail on the keeper thereof to charge it on the legacy; but he refused to do it, saying, that the lunatic was placed there by Dr. Johnson, and that it was a debt incurred in his life-time, and, by consequence, was payable out of his effects. When this would not do, this artful fellow came to me, and pretended that he could bring a woman to swear that there was nothing due; and, upon my telling him, that I should, notwithstanding, pay the bill, he said, he saw there was no good intended for him, and in anger left me.†

I have elsewhere shewn that Johnson's treatment of Elizabeth Herne was particularly generous, for she had nearer relatives blessed with much more of the world's goods, on whom he might, with some shew of reason, have thrown such a responsibility.‡ Whatever the facts may have been regarding Frank's attitude in the matter, we can quite understand his anxiety not to be saddled

* See my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 157–8.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 601, footnote

‡ Her mother Phœbe, wife of Benjamin Herne, was daughter of Johnson's aunt, Phœbe Ford, who married John Harrison. Her uncle was the Rev. Cornelius Harrison [1700?–1748], whose son Cornelius Harrison [1743–1806] was a man of some property. See my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 179–82.

Mr. John Brewer, Clerk of the Bridewell Royal Hospital, has kindly searched the old admission books of the Bethlem Hospital, and discovered for me the entry relating to Johnson's cousin. She was admitted on 19 April 1766, as Elizabeth Herne, of "Cumpton Bishop," County Somerset, her sureties being William Strahan, of New Street, Shoe Lane, printer, and Thomas Davies, of Russell Street, Covent Garden, bookseller. She was discharged on 28 February 1767 as "not fitt," which probably means that her twelve months' period for treatment at the Hospital being about to expire, the Committee discharged her as *uncured*. The fact that Strahan and Tom Davies, two of Johnson's oldest friends, the latter of whom introduced Boswell to him in 1763, acted as sureties, shows clearly who it was that had gained Elizabeth Herne admission to Bedlam. One might have expected Johnson himself to have acted as a surety. He had occupied his house in Johnson's Court at least since 2 October 1765 (Birkbeck Hill's *Letters of Johnson*, i., 122); but perhaps was not yet qualified as a "responsible householder." "Upon her discharge from Bethlem hospital as incurable," Hawkins says, "Johnson had her placed in a mad-house at Bethnal Green."

at the very outset with all his master's poor relations; and his natural distrust of Hawkins, who treated him from the first as an enemy.

And it is amusing to find that Hawkins's charge of "craft and selfishness" against this humble dependent is one which might at least as well have been brought against himself, the opulent attorney and self-important dispenser of justice. To Edmund Malone we owe a valuable statement affording evidence of this:—

After the death of Dr. Johnson, he as one of his executors laid hold of his watch and several trinkets, coins, &c., which he said he should take to himself for his trouble—a pretty *liberal* construction of the rule of law, that an executor may satisfy his own demands in the first instance. Sir Joshua and Sir Wm. Scott, the other executors, remonstrated against this, and with great difficulty *compelled* him to give up the watch, which Dr. Johnson's servant, Francis Barber, now has; but the coins and old pieces of money they could never get.

He likewise seized on a gold-headed cane which some one had by accident left in Dr. Johnson's house previous to his death. They in vain urged that Francis had a right to this till an owner appeared, and should hold it *in usum jus habentes*. He would not restore it; and his house being soon afterwards consumed by fire, he *said* it was there burnt.*

Perhaps Hawkins's conduct better deserves to be described as "dishonest," for "craft" scarcely covers such a blunt disregard of Frank's legal rights. Malone, elsewhere, in a letter to James, first Earl of Charlemont, on 7 November 1787, does not hesitate to put his opinion of the transaction into plain words:—

You perhaps have not heard of a very curious fact. Sir John wanted to cheat poor Frank, Johnson's servant, of a gold watch and cane, and Frank, not choosing to lose them, from that time became as black again as he was before.†

The incident of Hawkins trying to cheat Frank out of the watch became known to Porson, then quite a young man, who contributed to *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1787 three ironical articles‡ on Sir John's *Life of Johnson*, in one of which he remarked:—§

* "Maloniana," in Prior's *Life of Malone*, 1860, p. 426.

† *Historical MSS. Commission*, Thirteenth Report, Appendix VIII., 62.

‡ These articles are signed "Sundry Whereof."

§ *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1787, pp. 752-3.

In the *Life*, p. 460, 461, we have an ample description of a watch that Johnson bought for seventeen guineas; but, just as we expect some important consequence from this solemn introduction, the history breaks off, and suddenly opens another subject. Now, Mr. Urban, some days ago I picked up a printed octavo leaf, seemingly cancelled and rejected. It was so covered with mud and dirt that I could only make out part of it, which I here send you, submitting it to better judgment, whether this did not originally fill the chasm that every reader of taste and feeling must at once perceive in the history of the watch. It is more difficult to find a reason why it was omitted. But I am persuaded that the person who is the object of Sir John's satire, was so hurt at the home truths contained in it, that he tampered with the printers to have it suppressed.

FRAGMENT.

... "And here, touching this watch already by me mentioned, I insert a notable instance of the craft and selfishness of the Doctor's Negro servant.* A few days after that whereon Dr. Johnson died, this artful fellow came to me, and surrendered the watch, saying at the same time, that his master had delivered it to him a day or two before his demise, with such demeanour and gestures that he did verily believe that it was his intention that he, namely Frank, should keep the same. Myself knowing that no sort of credit was due to a black domestic and favourite servant, and withal considering that the wearing thereof would be more proper for myself, and that I had got nothing by my trust of executor save sundry old books, and coach-hire for journies during the discharge of the said office; and further reflecting on what I have occasion elsewhere to mention, *viz.*, that, since the abolishing general warrants, *temp. Geo. iii.*, no good articles in this branch can be had any longer in England, I took the watch from him, intending to have it appraised by my own jeweller, a very honest and expert artificer, and, in so doing, to have bought it as cheap as I could for myself, let it cost what it would. Upon my signifying this my intention to Frank, the impudent Negro said, 'he plainly saw there was no good intended for him,'† and in anger left me. He then posted to my colleagues the other executors; and there being in the people of this country a general propensity to humanity, notwithstanding all my exertions to counteract the same both in writing‡ and otherwise; this being the case, I say, he had found means to prepossess them so entirely in his favour, that they snubbed me, and insisted with me that I should make restitution. Finally, though perhaps I should not have been amenable to any known judicature by keeping the watch, I consented, being compelled thereto, to let this worthless fellow retain that testimony of his master's ill-directed benevolence *in extremis*."§

* Quoted from Hawkins, see p. 52.

† Quoted from Hawkins, see p. 52.

‡ Porson's footnote:—"See Sir John's proofs, that every prisoner ought to be convicted, and every convict hanged, pp. 521-3."

§ The last few words imitating Hawkins; see p. 61.

The late Sir Richard Jebb considered these letters to be "perhaps the best" of Porson's humorous writings, and the "Fragment" relating to Barber and the watch "equal to anything in Thackeray."*

Johnson's watch and its history have been a good deal discussed.† He had it "made for him, in the year 1768, by those eminent artists Mudge and Dutton;‡ it was of metal, and the outer case covered with tortoise-shell; he paid for it seventeen guineas." An inscription in Greek on the dial plate, warning its user that "the night cometh," he three years later had removed, as he thought it "pedantic."§ Dr. Birkbeck Hill quoted || Polwhele's letter of 29 April 1794, in which was given an extract from a letter just written to him by an "old Christ Church friend B——," who said he had bought Johnson's watch from Barber, then settled at Lichfield.¶ Dr. Hill contrasted this statement with one by "the Rev. Hugh Pailye, canon of Lichfield," which Croker quotes:—

I certainly am in possession of Dr. Johnson's watch, which I purchased from his black servant, Francis Barber. His punch-bowl is likewise in my possession, and was purchased by the Rev. Thomas Harwood, the historian of Lichfield. It was bought at Mrs. Harwood's sale,** by John Barker Scott,†† Esq., who afterwards presented it to me.‡‡

Confronted with these two pieces of evidence, Dr. Birkbeck Hill severely remarks that "unless there is some mistake in one of these

* See his article on Porson in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

† See *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vii., 243; 6th Series, xii., 345, 393; and 10th Series, xi., 281, 494.

‡ Thomas Mudge [1717–94] entered into partnership with William Dutton in 1750 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

§ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, pp. 460–61.

|| In his *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ii., 117.

¶ See p. 77.

** It should be "Mr. Harwood's sale," as J. T. Smith prints it. Thomas Harwood [1767–1842] left Lichfield in 1814 on his presentation to the Rectory of Stawley, Somerset. Perhaps that was the occasion for a sale. He returned to Lichfield in 1819 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

†† John Barker Scott, of Market Street, aged 55, was buried at St. Chad's, Lichfield, on 15 December 1819, by the Rev. Henry White.

‡‡ Croker (*Boswell*, 1835, x., 106) has derived this letter from J. T. Smith's *Nollekens and His Times*, 2nd ed., 1829, i., 126, but has not reprinted it quite accurately.

accounts, the Canon or the Christ Church man, it seems, was tricked. It would be interesting to know whether there are in existence two watches said to be Johnson's."* But he has discovered a mare's nest here: neither "B——" nor Canon "Bailye" was tricked, but only Dr. Hill himself, by his curious failure even to suspect that those two mysterious personages were one and the same individual! Hugh Bailye it was, of Christ Church, Oxford, and Canon of Lichfield, who purchased the watch;† and Croker's misprint produced a name so strange that it might have aroused the suspicions of the most innocent commentator.

Boswell himself has something to say on the subject of Hawkins's endeavours to take advantage of his position as an executor at Frank's expense:—

His being appointed one of his executors, gave him an opportunity of taking possession of such fragments of a diary and other papers as were left; of which, before delivering them up to the residuary legatee, whose property they were, he endeavoured to extract the substance.

"In this," adds Boswell with delightful malevolence, "he has not been very successful, as I have found upon a perusal of those papers, which have been since transferred to me."‡

Among other of Johnson's manuscripts which were saved by Frank was a prayer, dated 26 April 1752, which he handed to the Rev. George Strahan.§ Mrs. Johnson's wedding-ring he offered to her daughter, Lucy Porter, "but she having declined to accept of it,|| he had it enamelled as a mourning ring for his old master, and pre-

* *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 296, footnote.

† This fact can be established by reference to *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1833, pt. 2, p. 231, where Canon Bailye is given as the writer of the letter quoted by Polwhele as from his "old Christ Church friend B——"; see p. 76. For account of Canon Bailye, see p. 76, footnote.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 27, 28. Miss Hawkins thus complains:—"My father got a considerable quantity of abuse, absolutely as if he had meant to purloin a jewel, for his caution in keeping out of sight one little book in Johnson's writing, which was of a more private nature than the rest" (*Memoirs*, etc., by Lætitia Matilda Hawkins, 1824, i., 220).

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 235.

|| Such a refusal seems rather extraordinary, but she "was much displeased that nothing was left to her" under Johnson's will (see my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 243), and no doubt considered Frank's offer as adding insult to injury.

sented it to his wife, Mrs. Barber, who," Boswell adds, "now has it."* This very ring was, until 1909, one of the most cherished possessions of that veteran Johnsonian, Mr. A. C. Lomax, of Lichfield. It is preserved in a small circular wooden box, of considerable age, but apparently not the "little round wooden box" inside which the Doctor pasted the inscription to his wife's memory.† The ring itself has the following inscription engraved around the outside:—"SAM^l JOHNSON L:L:D: OB: 13 DEC: 1784 Æ. 75." The sinkings around the letters have been filled in with black enamel. This historic ring formed part of Mr. Lomax's valuable gift to the Johnson Birthplace at the bi-centenary celebration in 1909.‡

The "Annals" of Johnson's early years we owe to Frank, who, "unwilling that all the MSS. of his illustrious master should be utterly lost," saved the mutilated volume from the fiery grave to which his master's dying instructions had consigned it. Richard Wright, who purchased the MS. from Frank's widow and placed it in his museum at Lichfield, included the "Annals" in a small volume which he published in 1805.§ The "Journey into North Wales in 1774" was also preserved by Frank, if Croker was not misinformed.|| It is

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 237.

† *Ibid. loc. cit.*

‡ Practically all the objects in this collection, including the ring, were purchased by his father, the late T. G. Lomax, at the final dispersal of the celebrated "museum" at Lichfield, which occurred after the death of Richard Wright in 1821. Richard Wright, a surgeon in the city, was the grandson of the museum's founder, Johnson's relative Richard Greene (see my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 145), at whose death in 1793 the museum was scattered among various purchasers. Richard Wright, with commendable zeal, re-purchased a considerable portion of his grandfather's collection.

§ *An Account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson from his birth to his eleventh year*, etc., 1805, preface, p. v.

|| Croker's *Boswell*, 1835, v., 193. Mrs. Piozzi told Sir James Fellowes, in a letter dated 11 October 1816, that in 1813, when she was in London, "a Mr. White sent to tell me, through Doctor Myddleton, that he possessed a manuscript of Johnson's, and wished me to ascertain that the handwriting was his." Mrs. Piozzi invited them both to dinner at her hotel, and found the manuscript to be Johnson's diary of the Welsh journey. She remarked that "the gentleman who possessed it, seemed shy of letting me read the whole, and did not, as it appeared, like being asked how it came into his hands" (Hayward's *Piozzi*, 2nd ed., ii., 348-9). This Mr. White was, of course, not one of the Whites of Lichfield (*Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, i., 11), who would be quite familiar with Johnson's caligraphy, and who would not have acquired the manuscript by a devious channel. It has occurred to me to wonder if he was a son, or other near

strange that Boswell never heard of the existence of either of these documents. As Dr. Birkbeck Hill remarks, "it seems likely that Barber was afraid to own what he had done."*

In the Record Office is preserved a "memorial" of Frank's annuity, enrolled on 14 December 1784,† which informs us that

relative, of "Mrs. White, my female servant," to whom Johnson bequeathed £100 (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 402, footnote). If he were, and had risen in the world, he might easily be "shy" of too close interrogation, even had the diary been quite honestly acquired. He was a man of some means, for in November 1814 he paid twenty-five guineas for seventeen of Johnson's letters (Hayward's *Piozzi*, *loc. cit.*).

Tom Taylor says that in Sir Joshua Reynolds's pocket-books he finds many appointments with Dr. W. Scott, one of the two other executors under Johnson's will. Under 21 Dec. 1784 is an entry:—"Mr. White, bookseller; sent to Sir J. Hawkins," and this, Taylor conjectures, "may refer to the payment of Johnson's legacy of £100 to Mrs. White, his female servant" (Leslie and Taylor's *Reynolds*, ii., 453, footnote). It may be so; but on the other hand there would seem no particular reason why the lady should require to depute this business to a male relative; and the question of *payment* would hardly arise within eight days of the testator's death. The fact that Sir Joshua calls him "Mr. White, *bookseller*," suggests that his *trade* had something to do with the visit; and he may merely have called in reference to some business connected with Johnson's books. Perhaps he was Benjamin White, the well-known Fleet Street bookseller and brother of White of Selborne. Benjamin White died 9 March 1794, so that he cannot have been the person alluded to by Mrs. Piozzi; but he left two sons, Benjamin and John, who carried on their late father's business (Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, iii., 127).

Mr. Broadley tells me (but without giving the authority) that Johnson's diary of the Welsh tour was in Mrs. Barber's possession after her husband's death. If so "Mr. White" probably acquired the manuscript from her. But this need not have caused him to "seem shy" as to disclosing the way in which it was acquired.

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, v., 427, footnote.

† This memorial was discovered by "G.J.W.," who sent a short abstract of it to *Notes and Queries* (6th Series, xi., 64) in 1885. The following is a full transcript:—

"A Memorial to be inrolled pursuant to an Act of Parliament made and passed in the 17th year of his Majesty's Reign, Of an Annuity secured and made payable by a bond or obligation bearing date the eleventh day of December one thousand seven hundred and eighty four entered into by Bennet Langton of Langton in the County of Lincoln, Esquire, to Philip Metcalfe of Savile Row in the parish of St. James Westminster in the County of Middlesex Esquire and George Stubbs of Suffolk Street Charing Cross in the said County of Middlesex Gentleman in the penal sum of one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds subject to a condition whereby after reciting that the said Bennet Langton in consideration of the sum of seven hundred and fifty seven pounds ten shillings of lawful money of Great Britain to him in hand paid by the said Philip Metcalfe and George Stubbs the receipt whereof is thereby acknowledged has contracted and agreed with the said Philip Metcalfe and George Stubbs to pay and secure to them their exors. admors. and assigns during the natural lives of Samuel Johnson of Fleet Street London Doctor of Laws and Francis Barber now in the service of the said Samuel Johnson and the life of the survivor of them one Annuity or Annual Sum

the annuity was secured by a bond dated 11 December 1784 and "entered into by Bennet Langton of Langton in the County of Lincoln, Esquire, and George Stubbs of Suffolk Street, Charing Cross, Gentleman." Langton, by this instrument, undertook to pay, in return for the sum of £757 10s. which he had received from Johnson,* an annuity of £70 to Metcalfe and Stubbs, during the lives of "Samuel Johnson of Fleet Street, London, Doctor of Laws, and Francis Barber, now in the service of the said Samuel Johnson." The execution of the bond by Langton was attested by John Des Moulins,† of Bolt Court, Fleet Street, and William Fynmore, of Suffolk Street, gentleman.‡

of seventy pounds of lawful money of Great Britain free of all deductions taxes or abatements whatsoever as therein and hereinafter mentioned It is declared that if the said Bennet Langton his heirs exors. or admors. or any of them should yearly and every year during the natural lives of them the said Samuel Johnson and Francis Barber and the life of the survivor of them pay or cause to be paid unto the said Philip Metcalfe and George Stubbs their exors. admors. or assigns the clear Annuity or Annual Sum of seventy pounds of lawful money of Great Britain free and clear of all taxes deductions or abatements whatsoever on the several days and times and in the manner therein mentioned And also if the said Bennet Langton his heirs exors. or admors. should pay or cause to be paid to the said Philip Metcalfe and George Stubbs their exors. admors. or assigns a proportionable part of the said Annuity or Annual Sum of Seventy pounds from the commencement of any quarter of a year wherein the survivor of them the said Samuel Johnson and Francis Barber should happen to die up to the day of the death of such survivor then the said obligation was to be void but if default should be made in any or either of the said cases or in any or either of the payments on or at any of the days and times therein mentioned then the said obligation should remain in full force which said Bond as to the execution thereof by the said Bennet Langton is attested by John Des Moulins of Bolt Court Fleet Street aforesaid and William Fynmore of Suffolk Street aforesaid Gentleman And the payment of the said Annuity or Annual Sum of seventy pounds is further secured by the said Bennet Langton and made payable out of and chargeable upon a moiety or half part of a certain duty arising out of the profits of the Navigation of the Wey in the County of Surrey by indenture bearing date the said eleventh day of December and made between the said Bennet Langton of the one part and the said Philip Metcalfe and George Stubbs of the other part which said indenture as to the execution thereof by the said Bennet Langton is attested by the said John Des Moulins and William Fynmore. Inrolled at one o'clock in the afternoon of the fourteenth day of December in the year of our Lord 1784." (Close Roll No. 6717.)

* See p. 38.

† John Desmoulins, son of Johnson's pensioner, Mrs. Desmoulins, and grandson of his godfather, Samuel Swynfen. See my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 230.

‡ William Fynmore had been articled to George Stubbs, jun. (see footnote, p. 39), whose partner he subsequently became. It is rather curious that, like Barber, he was a native of Jamaica, where he was born 22 February 1758. He was sent to England in 1765, with a black nurse, Bathsheba. For many years he was Vestry Clerk of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. He married, on 11 August 1789, George Stubbs's niece Jane, only daur

By a deed of the same date, made between Langton of the one part and Metcalfe and Stubbs of the other part, payment of the annuity by Langton was further secured on certain profits from the "navigation" of the river Wey, in Surrey.*

The following note was made by Philip Metcalfe† on the fly-leaf of an old edition of South's sermons:—‡

The Gift of Dr. Samuel Johnson as a kind token of affection and remembrance, eight and forty hours before he died. Sat. 11th Xber 1784: when we tog. executed the deed making me his Trustee for an Annuity to his Servt. Fran. Barber of 70*l.* p. Annum.

P. METCALFE.§

Boswell speaks of the "seven hundred and fifty pounds, which Johnson had lent to" Langton,|| as though it might have been a private loan of some standing which was to be satisfied by the annuity; and Dr. Birkbeck Hill alludes to Langton undertaking the liability "as payment of a loan."¶ But it seems quite clear that it was a deliberate payment to Langton by Johnson, made shortly before his death, for the specific object of securing to Frank the desired income.**

Hawkins, as has been already made clear,†† denounced the bequest

of Thomas Stubbs [1740-82], Captain and Adjutant 52nd Regt., and sister of Sir Thomas William Stubbs [1776-1844], who became a General in the Portuguese army and was created Viscount Villa Nova de Gaia. William Fynmore died 28 August 1832; his widow survived until 27 March 1856 (information of his grandson, Lieut. Col. Richard John Fynmore, J.P., of Sandgate, Kent; and see Fynmore pedigree in Howard and Crisp's *Visitation of England and Wales*, vi., 41, and vol. vi. of "Notes" to same, p. 102).

* In F. Marcham's catalogue of Surrey deeds, issued a year or two ago, there was advertised (Part 2, p. 41, item 752) an "appointment," dated 15 April 1796, relating to the "River Wey navigation," in which Bennet Langton was named as one of the parties.

The word "navigation" was used to describe an artificial waterway.

† Philip Metcalfe [1733-1818], was a wealthy malt distiller and an M.P. See an account of him in *Eight Friends of the Great*, by Wm. Prideaux Courtney, 1910, pp. 14-34.

‡ Johnson used *South's Sermons* when compiling his dictionary; see p. 79, footnote.

§ *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, xi., 64.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 404, footnote.

¶ *Ibid.* ii., 136, footnote.

** Yet I must mention that Percy Fitzgerald, alluding to an incident of a month or two before Johnson's death, says that "Langton owed him £750, and a little later offered to repay him" (*Croker's Boswell and Boswell*, 1880, p. 97). If this was so, the evidence has escaped me.

†† See p. 49, *et seq.*

to Frank; and elsewhere he angrily enters "a caveat against ostentatious bounty, favour to negroes, and testamentary dispositions *in extremis*."* "But surely," says Boswell, "when a man has money entirely of his own acquisition, especially when he has no near relations, he may, without blame, dispose of it as he pleases, and with great propriety to a faithful servant."† Thomas Tyers is more positive and upholds Johnson's bequest as "noble and exemplary."‡ Yet it is open to question whether Johnson's generosity to his servant, though it reflects great credit upon his heart, took the wisest possible form. No doubt he felt that life-long service with him, in a household so unconventional, had left Frank unfitted to earn a living; and that therefore he was under a peculiar obligation to provide handsomely for one who had thus been handicapped for other employment. Hawkins was too much of a dull pedantical lawyer to sympathise with Johnson's generous affection for a rather irresponsible negro; and he was, moreover, a biassed witness, for his disputes with Frank over the possession of some of his master's belongings must have rankled in his mind, especially when Johnson's friends took the servant's part. Still, we cannot get away from the fact that Frank's subsequent life, though, so far as we know, free from any serious default, largely justified Hawkins's strictures on the transaction, for he proved himself unfitted for the possession of money, and soon divested himself of his fortune, to spend his later years in poverty. This can hardly surprise us; but regret is natural that Johnson's good intentions failed to achieve what he desired. It is certainly hard to say what he should have done: it would have been inhuman to abandon the poor negro, whose charge he had undertaken from a dear friend, and who had served him faithfully, to the buffetings of the world—as Hawkins, no doubt, would have advocated. Had Frank, however, been restricted to a weekly allowance and prevented from getting advances out of his capital, he might at least have kept his financial equilibrium longer. We know, at any rate, that Johnson's bounty, though it was often ill-regulated, was never "ostentatious."

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 602.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 404, footnote.

‡ *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, ii., 379

CHAPTER VII

RETIREMENT TO LICHFIELD

Frank and Strahan's apprentice—Hawkins's money advances to Frank—Miss Hawkins's picture of the negro—Bishop Percy's financial relations with him—Hawkins settles the accounts—Frank leaves London for Lichfield—Hears from Bennet Langton—Boswell writes to him for biographical assistance—Pressure put upon Hawkins—Frank's letter to Percy—Another draft from the Bishop—Frank's acknowledgment—Johnson's care for his education not altogether wasted—The negro's extravagance at Lichfield.

IN a letter dated 17 January 1785, written by William Davenport to the Rev. William Langley, headmaster of Ashbourne Grammar School, is the earliest independent dated reference to Frank after his master's death a month before:—

I wished to defer writing till I had an opportunity of sending your book, which I have at length got away from Dr. Johnson's. I say *at length*, for I found it almost as difficult to obtain the ear of Frank as of the Prime Minister; and when I was admitted to that honour he knew nothing either of the book or of the papers you mention.*

William Davenport was the boy recommended by Johnson to William Strahan in 1775 as an apprentice.† The book in question, which he later obtained from Hawkins, had been lent by Langley to Johnson on the last evening he spent in Ashbourne.

Hawkins says that

from the time of the doctor's decease, myself, and my colleagues the other executors, answered all the calls of Francis for money. On the 6th day of September 1785, we had advanced him £106. By the 13th of December following, he had received of Mr. Langton for his annuity, and of Messrs. Barclay and

* See article on "Unpublished Episodes in the Life of Dr. Johnson," contributed by Llewellynn Jewitt to *Gent.'s Mag.* for 1878, vol. 243, p. 709.

† See Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, ii., 323, and *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, i., 303, 314.

Perkins for interest, as much as made that sum £183 and on the 15th of the same month, a year and two days after his master's death, he came to me, saying, that he wanted more money, for that a few halfpence was all that he had left.*

Miss Hawkins gives a more picturesque account of this little incident, which she claims to have witnessed.

When my father had to carry the will into effect, he was obstructed in every way by Francis. As fast as he drew money, so fast he spent it, and came for more. I remember seeing him, with all the vulgar insolence of a hackney-coachman, chuck up a few halfpence, which, he said, without rendering any reason, were all he had remaining of a large sum which he had received very shortly before, and urging Sir J. H. most indecorously to precipitation for which he might have been called to account; and this, when, had it not been that my father laboured the point incessantly, Francis, after all his master's vain boasting, and unfeeling disregard of nearer connections, would have been left to the labour of his hands for a subsistence. My father then lost all his tenderness for the fellow, who, as if he had had only the justification of the acting executor in view, as quickly as possible reduced himself to the refuge of a workhouse.†

Miss Hawkins errs on the side of picturesqueness, for Frank never enjoyed the hospitality of the workhouse. She also implies that Frank owed his annuity to her father. This may be partially true, though Hawkins's endeavours to persuade Johnson into making a will seem to have arisen merely from the lawyer's desire to see things in order, and certainly not from any "tenderness" for Frank.‡

The following unpublished letter from Bishop Percy to Sir Joshua Reynolds, addressed to him at Leicester Square, London, contains mention of Frank's finances:—§

Dromore, March 20, 1786

DEAR SIR,

I blush to think how long I have let your very obliging Letter remain unanswered^d but I delay'd writing till I could find a Mem^{dum} I had made relating to the account between Dr. Johnson and me web after my several removals from

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 597.

† *Memoirs*, etc., by Lætitia Matilda Hawkins, 1824, i., 153-4.

‡ See p. 35, *et seq.*

§ This letter and those that follow referred to as in "Lomax Collection" were kindly copied for me by Mrs. A. C. Lomax from the originals, before the album containing them was presented by her husband to the Johnson Birthplace at the time of the bi-centenary in 1909. These letters Mr. Lomax inherited from his father; see footnote, p. 57. I have since collated the copies with the originals.

Londⁿ to Carlisle, and from Carlisle to Ireland did not turn up, till lately. I send it on the other side,* together with a Draught for the Interest due to the end of the last half year to Francis Barber.

When you wrote last you expressed your kind Intentions of recommending a Subscription for Dr. Goldsmith's Brother to the Club. May I beg to know the Result? I shall willingly subscribe to Dr. Johnson's Monument and desire you will deduct My subscription from whatever money you may receive for Maurice Goldsmith,† whose Proposals I sent to Mr. Malone. As I have not seen any other Members of the Club since I left Dublin last midsummer and as I shall pass the Spring months here I have not been able to promote the Monument subscription, as otherwise I sh^d have gladly have (*sic*) done, to show my readiness to obey any commands of yours

being ever Dear Sir

Your faithful obliged Servant

THO. DROMORE.

Hawkins thus closes his detailed account of Frank's financial affairs:—

Upon my settling with him in August last, it appeared that, exclusive of his annuity, he had received £337 and, after delivering to him the bond for £150 mentioned in the will,§ I paid him a balance of £196 15s. 4d.³/₄||

* The following is a copy of the " memorandum," which is in the Bishop's handwriting:—

" A state of the Account between the Bp. of Dromore and the exors. of the late Dr. Sam^l Johnson.

" 1778. Nov^r 10.—Dr. Johnson lent Dr. Percy (now Bp. of Dromore) 150^l on his bond, at 5 p^r Cent Interest.

" 1780. May 27.—Dr. Percy paid to Dr. Johnson £7-10-0 being a Year's Int. due on 10 Nov^r 1779.

" 1788. [' Feb. 28 ' erased] March 21. Dr. Percy (Bp. of Dromore) remitted to Mr. F. Barber, 45^l by a Draught on Mess^{rs} Gosling, his Bankers, w^{ch} 45^l compleats 6 years' Interest due on 10th Nov^r 1785."

† The monument to Johnson's memory in St. Paul's Cathedral was paid for by a subscription initiated by members of the Literary Club. See Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 423-4. The list seems to have remained open several years.

‡ Maurice Goldsmith was a cabinet-maker, who met with no success in life, and died in 1792. See Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, viii., 237; also Forster's *Goldsmith*, 6th ed., ii., 442, where is given some account of Percy's endeavours to raise a little money for Maurice Goldsmith from members of the Literary Club.

§ Johnson's will refers to " one hundred and fifty pounds in the hands of Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore " (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 402, footnote). The money was lent on 10 November 1778; see footnote above.

|| Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 1787, p. 597. The book was " printed " on 8 December 1786 (Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, viii., 243), so that " August last " was August 1786

Boswell tells us that "Mr. Barber, by the recommendation of his master, retired to Lichfield, where he might pass the rest of his days in comfort."* But he does not tell us when the change was effected. There can be no doubt, however, that Frank remained in London until the settlement with Hawkins in August 1786, and then almost immediately removed to Lichfield. For within two months of the settlement Bennet Langton wrote the following letter,† addressed "To Mr. Francis Barber, at Lichfield, Staffordshire, By London":—

Cowes Oct. 6th 1786.

MR. BARBER

Your letter reached me at this place, where I have been some time, two days ago—in answer to it, I have only to repeat, what I said before very distinctly, that the transaction of making your quarterly payment of your annuity is always to be managed by Mr. Stubbs,‡ of Suffolk Street near the Haymarket, so that if you had applied to Him as soon as it became due, he would have immediately discharged it—and this I must desire you therefore now to do as soon as you please, and he will directly pay the whole sum due for the Quarter, as he has been accustomed to do.

I am your Wellwisher

BENNET LANGTON.

Four weeks later we get very certain proof of Frank's residence at Lichfield, in the register of St. Chad's Church, where is recorded the baptism of "Ann, Dr. of Francis Barber," on 7 November 1786. Next month, on 8 December, Hawkins, still nursing his spite, writes as follows to Percy:—

Francis Barber is an exceedingly worthless fellow. He is gone to reside at Lichfield, and I have settled my account with him. He has your bond, indorsed whereon is a receipt for the interest, which I made him sign, referring to the receipt that you inquire about, and have put it into the "*Ductor Dubitantium*."§

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 404, footnote.

† From Lomax Collection: previously unpublished.

‡ See footnote, p. 39.

§ Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, viii., 244. Earlier in the letter Hawkins refers to Jeremy Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*. Writing again to Percy on 10 May 1787 he says:—"I delivered your bond to Francis Barber in August last, the time I settled with him. His residence is at Lichfield" (*Ibid.* viii., 245).

Frank's son, Samuel Barber, of whom we shall hear later on, is said to have been born in London in 1786.* But the date of his birth was no doubt arrived at merely by subtracting his age—or supposed age—from the year of his death, a method as fallacious as it is common. It would seem more probable that, if he was born in London, the year of his birth was 1785.

Boswell, about this time, was busily occupied in collecting information for his great biography. On 12 July 1786 he wrote to Percy telling him that it was "now preparing for the press."† The following letter,‡ written by him to Frank nearly a year later, is very characteristic of his amiable, untiringly inquisitive methods:—

London

29 June 1787

DEAR SIR

Sir John Hawkins having done gross injustice to the character of the great and good Dr. Johnson, and having written so injuriously of you and Mrs. Barber, as to deserve severe animadversion, and perhaps to be brought before the spiritual court,§ I cannot doubt of your inclination to afford me all the helps you can to state the truth fairly, in the Work which I am now preparing for the Press.

I therefore beg that you will without delay write three Copies of the Letter No. 1 which I enclose, directing one to Sir Joshua Reynolds, one to Dr. Scott,|| and one to Sir John Hawkins putting to each the *date* of which you write, and enclose them to me, together with a Letter to me in the words of No. 2. I have mentioned the business to Sir Joshua and Dr. Scott. When I have received the said letters distinctly written out by you, I shall proceed in an effectual manner.

Please to enclose your packet to me under cover of

The Honourable

William Ward M.P.¶

London.

* See p. 86.

† Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, vii., 304.

‡ From Lomax Collection: previously unpublished. It is addressed "To Mr. Francis Barber, Lichfield."

§ Boswell's suggestion is that Hawkins might be proceeded against in the Spiritual Court, which had jurisdiction in cases of libel and slander where the allegation concerned offences which rendered one liable to a suit in that court, such as heresy, unchastity, and, more particularly, adultery. Such suits were transferred to the Civil Courts by Statute 18 and 19 Vic. cap. 41.

|| William Scott [1745–1836], D.C.L., afterwards Lord Stowell, was a trustee of Johnson's will, with Reynolds and Hawkins.

¶ The Hon. William Ward [1750–1823] succeeded his half-brother, as 3rd Viscount Dudley and Ward, on 10 October 1788.

You may at the same time let me have a private letter informing me how you are, and mentioning any thing that occurs to yourself. Be assured that I am ever sincerely concerned for your welfare. I send my compliments to Mrs. Barber and am with much regard

Dear Sir

Your steady friend

JAMES BOSWELL.

Most unfortunately the drafts of the two letters enclosed by Boswell, for Frank to copy, have not been preserved, so that we are left in the dark as to their tenor. But it is quite clear that the biographer was having some difficulty with Hawkins, and was willing to exercise his natural ingenuity in order to overcome it. Confirmation of this we find in another letter which he wrote to Frank nine months later, which is addressed simply to "Mr. F. Barber." Other communications had evidently passed between them in the meantime, but they have not been preserved.

London

20 March 1788

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your attention. Be so good as to send me the Diploma* which you have by first sure opportunity, directed to me N° 56 Great Queen Street,† Lincoln's Inn Fields.

And as I cannot specify exactly what papers Sir John Hawkins may yet have, you will please to write to me thus—

SIR

I hereby authorise you to demand from Sir John Hawkins all books or papers of any sort which belonged to the late Dr. Samuel Johnson, that may be in his possession, and your receipt to him shall be sufficient on my account as residuary legatee.

I am Sir

Your most humble servant

* I cannot say which of Johnson's diplomas this would be.

† In December 1788 Boswell said he had "taken a neat, pretty, small house in Queen Anne Street West, quite a genteel neighbourhood" (Wheatley's *London Past and Present*, iii., 139). Fitzgerald (*Life of James Boswell*, 1891, ii., 60) says that Boswell was called to the English bar in 1786, and took "a small house in Queen Ann's Street, at £50 a year." Perhaps 56 Great Queen Street was where he had chambers; it is some distance away from Queen Anne Street.

Let this be copied over in your own hand, dated and signed and addressed to me. I give you a great deal of trouble; but I am very desirous (*sic*) to collect all I can concerning your excellent Master. I enclose you the funeral sermon which he composed for Mrs. Johnson.* You will read it with serious advantage I doubt not.

My compliments to Mrs. Barber. I am Dear Sir

Your sincere freind (*sic*)

JAMES BOSWELL.

Put your letters to me under cover of J. B. Garforth, † Esq., M.P. London. ‡

Hawkins clearly proved a tough nut for Boswell to crack. The "unclubbable" attorney had published his own life of Johnson in the preceding year, so did not require the papers on that account; but no doubt he jealously held fast to anything that might assist a rival biographer.

Fortunately we have Boswell's next letter in sequence, which makes it clear that Frank duly wrote the letter of demand to Hawkins, enclosing it with a covering note of his own.

London

11 April 1788.

DEAR SIR,

I have received both your letters, and shall demand from Sir John Hawkins what papers or Books you have authorised me to receive.

As I am very sensible of your obliging disposition towards me, I am glad that I can accomodate you with the sum which you want for which I enclose you a Bank Post Bill.

* Published by the Rev. Samuel Hayes: first edition bears date 1788.

† Writing to Miss Seward from London on 11 April 1788 Boswell added a postscript:—"Please to write to me under cover of J. B. Garforth Esq: M.P. London, his house being nearer to me than my friend Mr. Courtenay's" (letter in Lomax Collection). John Baynes Garforth was son of William Baynes, by Elizabeth his wife, daur. of Edmund Garforth, of Steeton Hall, near Keighley, Yorks. A solicitor in London, he succeeded to Steeton Hall under the will of his uncle Edward Garforth, and adopted his name (Whitaker's *Craven*, 2nd ed. 1812, p. 168). "He was Steward to the Earl of Lonsdale, through whose influence he became M.P. for Cocker-mouth and—in one Parliament 1783-89—when he failed at Cocker-mouth went to Haslemere, another pocket borough of the Lowthers. He was clerk of the peace for Cumberland" (information of W. D. Pink). He died 15 October 1808, aged 86, in Bryanston Street, Portman Square (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1808, p. 1040; *European Mag.*, 1808, pt. 2, p. 401; *Monthly Mag.*, 1808, pt. 2, p. 485).

‡ From Lomax Collection: previously unpublished.

Please to deliver the enclosed to Miss Seward,* and to present my best compliments to Mr. Green.†

Some of your old master's friends have thought that your opening a little shop for a few books and stationery wares in Lichfield might be a good thing for you. You may consult, and consider of it. I am

Dear Sir

Your sincere friend

JAMES BOSWELL.

Write to me under cover of J. B. Garforth Esq. M.P. London.‡

Evidently Frank had improved the occasion by asking for a "loan"!

This ends the correspondence of Boswell with him so far as it has been preserved. There can be scarcely a doubt that the "authentic and artless account of the situation in which he [Frank] found him [Johnson] recently after his wife's death,"§ was furnished to Boswell by the negro during this correspondence. This "artless account" is worth study. It is, clearly, given in Frank's exact words, and shews him to have possessed considerable intelligence, as well as an excellent memory, for no less than twenty of Johnson's friends of that period are mentioned, with some personal details and even shrewd criticism. It is impossible to believe that Frank at the time can have been so young as seven. But this point has been already argued.||

The next record of Frank is most interesting—a letter from himself¶ to Bishop Percy, written at the end of the same year:—

May it please your Lordship

The infirmities (*sic*) I have incessantly laboured under, together with those, attendant on age; not to mention the severe Illness, from which my Wife has with great difficulty revored (*sic*) and the indisposition of my eldest Daughter is continually subject to, have universally concurred, and in some measure compelled me to solicit your Lordship to remit me (if convenient) the sum of Fifty pounds from the Bond together with the small Interest due thereon the the (*sic*) 10th of November last.

* No doubt the letter to her mentioned in my footnote, p. 68.

† Richard Greene [1716–93], founder of the museum at Lichfield; see p. 57, footnote.

‡ From Lomax Collection: hitherto unpublished.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i., 241.

|| See p. 6.

¶ From Lomax Collection: previously unpublished.

I should not have troubled your Lordship, but as Christmas is drawing near and it is customary for Apothecaries and other Tradespeople to bring in their accounts some of which ["which much larger than I expected" erased] I have already received, and much larger than I ever expected—I have it not in my power, *without the assistance of your Lordship*, to discharge the same with my Quarterly annuity, except I leave myself destitute of money.

I hope your Lordship will consider the above circumstance and Pardon me for the freedom I have taken in thus Writing—who am my Lord, with the most propound (*sic*) respect, your Lordship's

most obedient and obliged
humble Servant
FRANCIS BARBER

Stowe Street
Lichfield
16th Dec^r 1788.

This is evidently Frank's rough draft of the letter, of which the Bishop would receive a "fair copy." The photograph of it (Plate I.) will serve to shew what an excellent flowing hand the negro wrote. His English is certainly a little astray at times, and his spelling has some curious lapses. But the method of expression is at least ambitious, and it is refreshing to find him using such pure Johnsonese as "universally concurred." This draft has been endorsed by Frank:—"Dec^r 1788, Copy of a Letter sent to the Bishop of Dromore—Dated 16th Dec 1788."

It has already been shewn* that only some nine months earlier the Bishop had remitted £45 to Frank, the interest for six years ending 1785, which for some reason had remained unpaid. However, he acceded to Frank's request for an advance without question, and without delay, in a brief note† which shews at least that he was still very well disposed towards the negro.

Dromore, Dec^r 26 1788.

SIR,

I rec^d your Letter, and herewith send as you desire a Draught for 57^{ll} 10^s 0^d: whereof 50^{ll} is to pay off so much of the Principal of the Bond given for the Loan of 150^{ll} to my ever-honour'd Friend Dr Johnson: and 7^{ll} 10^s 0 for one year's Interest due on the 10th Nov^r last.

* See p. 64, footnote.

† From Lomax Collection: previously unpublished.

PHOTOGRAPH OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY FRANCIS BARBER
TO BISHOP PERCY IN 1788.

See page 69.

To face p. 70.

May it please your Lordship

The infirmities I have incessantly laboured under, together with those attendant on age, not to mention the severe Struggle from which my wife has with great difficulty recovered, and the indisposition of my eldest Daughter is continually subject to, have undiversely concurred and in some measure compelled me to solicit your Lordship to remit me, if convenient, the sum of Fifty pounds from the Bond together with the small Interest due thereon the 10th of November last —

I should not have troubled your Lordship, but as Christmas is drawing near and it is customary for apothecaries and other Tradespeople to bring in their accounts some of which ~~which I have already received~~ I have already received, and much larger than I ever expected — I have it not in my power, without the assistance of your Lordship, to discharge the same with my heartily annuity, except I leave myself destitute of money —

I hope your Lordship will consider the above circumstances and Pardon me for the freedom I have taken in this Writing — who am my Lord, with the most

profound respect, your Lordship's

most obedient and obliged

humble Servant

Francis Barber

Stow Street

Lichfield

16th Dec^r 1788

I hope to be favour^d with a Line by return of Post, to certify me that this has not miscarried and setting forth that this Payment is made to discharge the above.

You have always my best wishes and I shall be glad to hear of your health and happiness and am

Sir Your obed^t h^ble Servi
THO^s DROMORE,

On the back of the letter which Frank drafted in acknowledgment to Percy he has made a copy of the Bishop's note to his bankers:—

Dromore House, Dec^r 24th 1788.

GENTLEMEN

One month after date pay to Mr. Francis Barber or order Fifty seven pounds ten shillings sterling for,—

Gentlemen

Your obedient
Servant
THO^s DROMORE.

Mess^{rs} Burton Forbes & Gregory
Bankers, London
£57 - 10 - 0

Frank had evidently been in need again of stuff from the "apothecaries" when he drafted the letter in which he acknowledges Percy's kindness:—

I should have immediately ["obliged" erased] ed* your orders but illness at that time ented† me from Writing.

I received your most obliging Letter & note on the Thirty first of last month for which I return ["you" erased] sincere thanks.

I shall take particular care to make a Memorandum of the Fifty pounds received on the Bond to prevent any mistake which may hereafter arise; these with our sincere Wishes for a continuance of your health &c. and prosperity.

I beg leave my Lord to Subscribe myself—

Your most obedient
humble Servant
FRANCIS BARBER.

Stowe Street
Lichfield
5th January 1789.

* Paper torn: no doubt "obeyed."

† Paper torn: "prevented."

This letter Frank drafted on a page torn from an account book. It is addressed "To the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas Bishop of Dromore, Ireland." It has been neatly folded and endorsed by Frank:—"Bishop of Dromore. Dated 5th January, 1789, acknowledging (*sic*) the receipt of his Lordship's Letter with a Note for £57-10-0." He evidently dealt methodically with his business correspondence, and neatly docketed the letters for reference.

Both Frank's letters shew that Johnson's interest in his education had resulted in the negro acquiring a far better style of composition and address than would commonly have been found among white servants of his own standing. So that even if he did not become a "scholar," or a "philosopher," it is pleasant to have evidence that the "three hundred pounds" which Johnson is said to have spent on his schooling* was not entirely thrown away.

Johnson's idea in recommending his servant to settle at Lichfield no doubt was that in a small country town he would not be exposed to the same temptations as in London; and that in Lichfield, in particular, there would be restraining influences among the numerous responsible residents to whom he was well known. But the result was not very successful. Frank seems undoubtedly to have been extravagant during these early years at Lichfield. Even without allowing for the much greater value of money in his day, it might be thought that a man in his station of life could have kept himself and his family in comfort on the annuity of £70; and that with the interest on the bond, and other monies, he would have been placed far beyond the need of spending his capital as he did. But he had probably had little real experience in the management of money, and Johnson's household was run on easy lines which can hardly have imbued him with sound theories of domestic economy. Never strong, his health in his retirement seems to have got steadily worse; and with an ailing wife, and delicate children, his expenses were naturally increased. It was said by his son's biographer that Francis and his wife "were improvident, strove to make a figure in the world, lived above their means, and dissipated their property."† This, no

* See p. 22.

† *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, vol. x., 1829, p. 82.

doubt, represents the state of things as seen through the eyes of an extreme Methodist, who would view common failings in rather a lurid light. Negroes, as a rule, certainly shew a fondness for display; but there is no record of Frank being particularly given either to personal adornment or to following the will-o'-the-wisp of social ambition.

CHAPTER VIII

LAST DAYS OF FRANK AND HIS WIFE

Frank visited at Lichfield by a "journalist"—Description of his appearance—His memories of Johnson—His affairs become more involved—Canon Bailye obtains Johnson's watch—Mrs. Barber's virtue—Bishop Jebb's account of the Barber relics in 1826—Canon Bailye and his recollections of Johnson—Dr. Burney wants to see Frank—Frank opens a school near Lichfield—His last illness—Death in Stafford Infirmary—Mrs. Barber starts a school in Lichfield—The Rev. T. S. Whalley visits her—Mrs. Piozzi and the pocket-book—Mrs. Barber uses "Tetty's" prayer-book—Her death in Stowe Street—The early miniature of Johnson.

HISTORY is silent as to Frank and his doings during the next four years.* But in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1793 appeared what is perhaps the most interesting single piece of evidence we possess regarding him. It is indeed the only source from which we can derive a deliberate description of Frank's manner and appearance. It is contained in an article on an excursion from Walton† to London, contributed by "Our ingenious Meteorological Journalist." This

* Mr. William Roberts has kindly sent me the following entry concerning lot 3679 of the Sir William Tite sale at Sotheby's, May-June 1874:—"Autograph letter from Mrs. Piozzi to — Barber, dated Streatham Park, Wednesday May 9 [no year]. 'Shall be exceedingly happy to see Mr. Barber on Sunday.' The rest of the letter consists of details relating to herself, her birth and marriages. The letter appears to have been addressed to Francis Barber, who had been a black servant to Dr. Johnson."

This letter must have been written after 25 July 1784, the date of Mrs. Thrale's marriage to Gabriel Piozzi (Broadley's *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale*, 43). I find that, during the remainder of Barber's life, May 9 was a Wednesday in 1787, 1792 and 1798. Now the Piozzis lived at Streatham only from 1790 to 1795 (Abraham Hayward's *Autobiography of Mrs. Piozzi*, 2nd ed. 1861, vol. i., pp. 304, 345). It therefore appears that the letter must have been written on 9 May 1792. If it was really addressed to Francis Barber, he must, on one occasion at least, have revisited London. It seems strange if she wrote to a negro servant minutely on details of her domestic history.

† Presumably Walton-on-the-Hill, near Liverpool. The traveller lay for the first night at Holmes Chapel, in Cheshire.

bold traveller arrived in Lichfield on 21 June 1793 and, after viewing the Cathedral, where he attended morning service,

Sent for Mr. Francis Barber, thirty-five years* the humble companion of the late Dr. Johnson; who, with his family, now resides at Lichfield.

Francis is about 48, low of stature, marked with the small pox, has lost his teeth; appears aged and infirm; clean and neat, but his cloaths the worse for wear; a green coat; his late master's cloaths all worn out.† He spends his time in fishing, cultivating a few potatoes, and a little reading. He laments that he has lost the countenance and table of Miss S——,‡ Mr. ——, and many other respectable good friends, through his own imprudence and low connexions. He was the companion of Johnson; for, as master, he required very small attention: Francis brought and took away his plate at table, and purchased the provisions for the same. But if Francis offered to buckle the shoe, &c. "No, Francis, time enough yet! When I can do it no longer, then you may."

He was his companion in the evening, when his domesticks§ made a circle round the fire, where the Doctor chatted and dictated. "Why do not you ask me questions?" the Doctor said to Francis. "But I never could take the same liberty with my master as with another person." A companion in his journeys, and at Streatham, if Francis preferred Streatham; but, when London had more attractions, he returned to London, and left his master at Streatham.

"You never heard your master swear?" "No; the worst word he ever uttered when in a passion was, *you dunghill dog.*"

The Doctor would never suffer himself to be *denied*|| which often put him to inconvenience when busy; on which occasions he either wrote in the night, or retired into the country.

Mr. Barber appears modest and humble, but to have associated with company superior to his rank in life. The benevolence of Johnson appears strong in his treatment of this servant during life, and in his liberal bequest to him at last. It seems as out of his power to render himself very useful as a servant, yet the Doctor would not cast him off on that account; and, when the master was no more, he provided a staff to support him in his stead: besides, Francis is oppressed with a troublesome disorder. I had to regret that my short stay would not admit longer conversation.¶

It is clear that Frank's circumstances had not improved, but

* If he entered Johnson's service about April 1752 (see pp. 4, 5), the period was only some thirty-two-and-a-half-years.

† Not very surprising after eight years and more! It is difficult to conceive Johnson's clothes upon Frank's meagre frame.

‡ Evidently Miss Seward. He can scarcely have been admitted to the "table" of that rather exclusive lady, except in the servants' hall.

§ "Domesticks" must here be used in the wider sense of members of the household.

|| i.e., to visitors.

¶ *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1793, pp. 619-20.

presumably he was still independent and able to live quietly on his annuity. There is no reflection, in this account, of the desire "to make a figure in the world" with which he has been charged.* He was evidently still living in the house in Stowe Street, and the "fishing" in which he indulged was no doubt obtained in Stowe Pool close by.

When all his capital had disappeared, and Frank's affairs became more involved, he found himself compelled to part with some of his old master's personal belongings, for which, even at that date, there would seem to have been a ready market. On 29 April 1794 Polwhele informed one of his correspondents that he had "just been favoured with an interesting letter from our old Ch. Ch. friend B——." "B——" was Canon Bailye of Lichfield.† "The following extract," Polwhele continued, "will amuse you":—

* See p. 87.

† As can be seen by reference to *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1833, pt. 2, p. 231, where this same letter is given, apparently in a rather abridged form.

Hugh Bailye, son of William Bailye, of Lichfield, *armiger*, matric. 1 July 1778, aged 17, at Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1782; M.A., 1809 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). His father was a printer (Rupert Simms's *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis*). He himself married "Anne Grundy, sister to Mrs. Hinckley of Lichfield" (Shaw's *Staffs.*, ii., *222). He became a Canon Residentiary and Chancellor of Lichfield. As Chancellor he nominated himself in 1818 to the vicarage of Alrewas; one account states that he resigned that living for the vicarage of Hanbury, not long before his death on 9 June 1833, aged 70 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1833, pt. 2, p. 89). But this is incorrect, for he was collated to the vicarage of Hanbury in 1790, "and in 1793 pulled down the old vicarage house . . . and has since erected an excellent new one on the opposite side of the church, commanding a most charming and extensive prospect" (Shaw's *Staffs.*, I., 77). He was collated to the prebendal stall of Gaia Minor on 5 November 1802, being then described as Vicar of Hanbury (Harwood's *Lichfield*, 234). On 5 November 1796 he confesses that "till this summer I never saw the sea" (Polwhele's *Traditions and Recollections*, 1826, ii., 436; see also 628 and 677). There are allusions to him in Harry White's diaries: see p. 84, footnote.

General William Dyott [1761–1847] makes the following entry in his diary, under March 1829:—"I returned on the 6th to dine with my old schoolfellow, Bailye, at Lichfield. We are exactly the same age, born in the same year. A more honest, honourable, upright man never lived, nor one who enjoys his meat more heartily with his friend. We were class-fellows and allies at school, though we once fought a desperate pitched battle, in which I was worsted with a black eye and bloody nose, and the addition of a good flogging from old Price for the marks on my front" (*Dyott's Diary*, ed. Reg. W. Jeffery, 1907, ii., 49). The reference hardly suggests that his friend was an ecclesiastical dignitary; yet there can be little doubt that "Bailye," born, as the General says, in 1761, was the Canon. We read of the General that "at about the age of eight or nine he was moved to a school known as Price's, where he stayed until he was about twelve years old" (*ibid.* i., xi.). In January 1824 the General speaks of his hopes—not realised—"that Mr. Bailye would have let his house at Pipe Grange" to him (*ibid.* i., 356).

O how (says B.) will Boswell envy me! No less than Dr. Johnson's watch is now in my possession! This watch was the regulator you know of the famous literary club; it was made by the very celebrated Mudge (who I have heard was a Devonshire man) on purpose for Dr. Johnson. Mudge's brother or relation published a volume of Sermons, which Johnson spoke well of,* and promoted a subscription for them. Mudge the watchmaker was pleased with Johnson's attention to his kinsman, and promised to exert himself in making this watch; and Johnson always expressed himself highly pleased with it. I purchased it of Francis Barber, his black servant, who is now settled at Lichfield, and I am afraid in great want, though his master left him almost all his property. But he has a wife, poor fellow, that brings him both black and white children (alternately); this strange chemical mixture has produced that bitter portion poverty. This is not the Philosopher's stone.†

Mrs. Barber's virtue is presumably the butt of the Canon's humour. Such jests are easily made—marriages between persons of different colour always attract them—and not easily refuted. But we should require more than the rancorous abuse of Hawkins,‡ or the sly levities of the worthy Canon, to justify us in condemning a poor woman who, had she been "as chaste as ice, as pure as snow," could hardly have produced all her children of a tint so uniform as to provide no mark for the shafts either of malice or of humour.

When John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, visited Lichfield in the March of 1826, he seems to have enjoyed the company of Canon Baily:—

Arriving at Lichfield on Good Friday, he felt peculiar interest in keeping a day so solemnly observed by Dr. Johnson, in his favourite moralist's own city and cathedral. After service, he was politely accosted by one of the dignitaries in residence, who offered his services to conduct him over the cathedral: the offer was thankfully accepted; and, on entering into conversation, the Bishop learned, with deep interest, that this gentleman had not only known Dr. Johnson, but was in possession, also, of his watch, his bible, his ink-stand, and several other Johnsonian relics. Conducted to his house to view these curiosities, we gathered,

In 1841 he speaks of having "left Price's school nearly seventy years ago" (*ibid.* ii., 339). The Rev. Thomas Price [1732?–97] was Head Master of Lichfield Grammar School 1764–75 (Rupert Simms's *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis*), so perhaps "Price's school" was really that old foundation.

* See Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 77. Thomas Mudge, the watchmaker, was son of the Rev. Zachariah Mudge [1694–1769], the author of the sermons; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

† *Traditions and Recollections*, by Richard Polwhele, 1826, p. 353.

‡ See p. 28.

on the way, some interesting gleanings. There are still many who will peruse with satisfaction any genuine fragments of Johnson's conversation.

The first meeting with his great townsman, our conductor confessed, he looked forward to with nervous apprehension.—“I was then a youth, fresh from the university,* and I had heard so much of Dr. Johnson's awful manner, that I felt quite afraid of meeting him. But his first address at once relieved me. ‘Sir, I knew your father, he was a classman of mine at Dr. Hunter's; I knew your grandfather, and I knew your great-grandfather;† and (reaching out his hand as he spoke) I am glad to know you.’ From that moment I was at my ease with him, and we conversed with the greatest freedom. He was a man of the truest simplicity of character, and tender-hearted as a child.”

* . . . * . . . *

Most of the relics possessed by our informant, had been obtained from Francis Barber, Johnson's black servant, who reduced himself to great misery, and parted with them in his distress. The watch, its present possessor has had remounted in a gold case; but the dial-plate, work, cap, &c. remain as Johnson left them. On the original dial plate were engraved the words *Νυξ ἐρχεται*; but Dr. Johnson, thinking the motto might appear ostentatious, disused the dial plate, replacing it with a plain one. The watch itself was made by Mudge, London.‡—The Bible is a pocket one, bound in red leather, with a clasp: the London edition of 1650, printed for the Stationers' Company; and (what one could not have expected to find with Dr. Johnson), consequently a *republican copy*. It bears marks of close and constant study, being folded down, according to his custom, at numerous passages. The present owner religiously preserves the folds as Johnson left them. I hope it was with no unprofitable emotion that I held in my hand this little volume, the well worn manual of our great English moralist.—A volume of South's Sermons, § used by Dr. Johnson for his

* As Hugh Bailye went up to Oxford in 1778, his first meeting with Johnson might have been when the Doctor visited Lichfield in 1779; or it might have been on the 1781 visit.

† The Canon's father, William Bailye, who married Miss — Hand, was son of Richard Bailye, by Isabel, daughter of Hugh Granger, by Anne, daughter of John Pershouse (Shaw's *Staffs.*, ii., *222). As Hugh Bailye was born *circa* 1761, the chances are against it having been his *father* who was the schoolfellow of Johnson, born in 1709. Perhaps it was his *grandfather*, Richard Bailye, who was Johnson's classman. One “Mr. Richard Bayley” was named in the will of Richard Wakefield, of Lichfield, in 1733, as his godson, together with Samuel Johnson (see my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 227, and *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, i., 37). Perhaps the two Richards were identical.

‡ See p. 55.

§ On 26 October 1769, Boswell says, Johnson “bid me read South's *Sermons on Prayer*” (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, ii., 104); and on 7 April 1778, talking of sermons, he said:—“South is one of the best, if you except his peculiarities, and his violence, and sometimes coarseness of language” (*ibid.* iii., 248). Mr. E. V. Lucas, writing of Lichfield Cathedral in 1907, remarked:—“In the Chapter Library is an interesting Johnsonian relic in the shape of the copy of *South's Sermons* in which he noted words for his

dictionary, was also much worn, and the margin repeatedly marked in pencilling, or the passages for citation underlined.*

Mere relics of Johnson probably went very cheap in those days; but for the watch, which had considerable intrinsic value,† the Canon would no doubt have had to pay a good price.

Dr. Burney, returning on one occasion from Crewe Hall, wrote to his daughter that he had arrived at Lichfield on 26 August 1797,

and the next morning, before my companion was up, I strolled about the city with one of the waiters, in search of Dr. Johnson's good negro, Frank Barber, who, I had been told, lived there; but, upon inquiry, I found that his residence was in a village four or five miles off.‡

The place to which Frank had changed his residence was Burntwood, a small hamlet between three and four miles due west of Lichfield. His son's biographer, already quoted, says that Frank "at length taught a school at Burntwood, near Lichfield."§ What induced him to move so far out into the country and start a school there, we do not know; but his choice of occupation shews that he considered himself, or was considered by others, educationally well above the rustics—which his letters, of course, fully prove him to have been. He never seems to have adopted Boswell's suggestion of 1788, that he should open "a little shop for a few books and stationary wares in Lichfield."||

Dictionary, with the passages in which they occur marked for use as illustrations" (*A Swan and Her Friends*, p. 13). Possibly Canon Bailye himself presented it to the Library. See p. 60 for mention of a copy of *South's Sermons* presented by Johnson to a friend.

* *Life of Bishop Jebb*, by Rev. Charles Forster, 1851, pp. 218-19.

† See *ante*, p. 55. I thought that Canon Bailye's will might possibly throw light upon some of the Johnson relics; but he died intestate. Admon. of the estate of Hugh Bailye, of Hanbury, Wilts. (sc. Staffs.), clerk, was granted 24 June 1833, in P.C.C., to Richard Hinckley, nephew and next-of-kin of Ann Bailye, widow and relict of Hugh, and "now in a state of mental imbecility," during that state, for her use; val. £70,000. A further admon. was granted in February 1835; and on 22 December 1883 further admon. of goods, etc., of said Hugh, left unadministered by Richard Hinckley, was granted to Henry Orme Hawthorn, surgeon, and Fred. Hawthorn, physician, both of Uttoxeter, exors. of will of Dorothy Brown, widow, extrix. of will of Charlotte Bond, widow, aunt and next-of-kin.

‡ *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, ed. Madame d'Arblay, 1832, iii., 247-8; and *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*, ed. Austin Dobson, v., 339.

§ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, vol. 10, 1839, p. 82.

|| See p. 69.

Poor Frank did not live many years longer. *The Gentleman's Magazine* for February 1801 contains his obituary, as having died on the 13th of that month:—

In the Infirmary at Stafford, where he was under the care of the surgeons of that useful institution for a painful operation, Mr. Francis Barber, the faithful servant and residuary legatee of Dr. Samuel Johnson (of whose life, since the death of his much-loved master, we shall be glad to receive further particulars).* . . . Mr. Barber was a married man; and gave to his wife, enameled for a mourning ring, the wedding ring which his master had carefully preserved as a memorial of his *Tetty*.†—It is not generally known (and escaped Mr. Boswell) that a preceding servant of Dr. Johnson (who lived with him in 1736 at his academy at Edial) was living within these 18 months, and (we believe) still survives.—We call on our Lichfield friends to say more on this subject.‡

“Our Lichfield friends” proved quite unresponsive, and failed to “say more” either about Barber or the other old servant, whose recollections of the early days at Edial would have thrown a welcome light upon one of the dimmest chapters of Johnsonian biography.

As a matter of fact, Frank did not die in February, for the register of St. Mary's, Stafford, thus records his burial:—

1801. Jany. Francis Barber from the Infirmary. Buried 28th§

He had been under medical treatment at Lichfield, or at Burntwood, before it was found necessary to remove him to the Infirmary.|| On the fly-leaf of a neat little copy of *The Satires of Juvenal*, printed at Amsterdam in 1626,¶ is written the following note:—

This book was formerly the property of Dr. Samuel Johnson. It was given to me by Dr. Wright of Lichfield, who received it from Frank Barber, Dr. Johnson's servant, whom he attended in his last illness.

CHARLES NUTT.** Sep^r 14th 1818.

* Here follows a quotation from *Boswell*.

† See p. 57.

‡ *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1801, pt. 1, p. 190.

§ Information of the Rev. J. H. Sandford, when curate of St. Mary's. Mr. Sandford very kindly also made a thorough survey of the stones in the churchyard, without finding any inscription to Barber. There is no will or admon. of Francis Barber at Lichfield between 1801 and 1810.

|| The Secretary of the Staffordshire General Infirmary, Stafford, kindly tells me that there are no records throwing light upon Barber's admission to the institution.

¶ In my possession.

** Sir Robert White-Thomson, when he read this inscription, told me that Charles Nutt was the vergier of the Cathedral. The handwriting is that of an educated man.

His medical attendant must have been Dr. Richard Wright, who resurrected the celebrated museum at Lichfield, which his grandfather Richard Greene had formed.* We do not know the nature of the complaint from which Frank died. In 1759, while he was still a boy, he had been "particularly subject to a malady in his throat";† while in 1793 he was described as being "oppressed with a troublesome disorder."‡

Mrs. Barber's lot must have been hard indeed when her husband died. His income died with him—if indeed he had not sold the annuity long before and spent the capital sum. She seems to have lived on at Burntwood for a while, for the register of St. Chad's, Lichfield, contains a record of the burial on 9 March 1802 of "Elizabeth, Daur. of Francis & Eliz^b Barber, Burntw^d." But some time later she came back to Stowe Street, in Lichfield, where she had lived with her husband.§ In *The European Magazine* for 1810,|| appeared the following interesting letter:—

Sept. 21, 1810.

SIR,—Possessing, in some degree, that "minute curiosity" described by your Correspondent (*European Magazine*, May 1810, p. 352),¶ I trust the following communication will not be unacceptable.

Having recently visited Lichfield, I found that the house advertised (cover of Gentleman's Magazine, 1736), "At Ediall, in Staffordshire, where young gentlemen were boarded, and taught the Latin and Greek languages, by SAMUEL JOHNSON," and where GARRICK was his pupil, was taken down in February 1809, and the materials sold. In Harwood's History of Lichfield, there is an excellent engraving of it, which, I believe, is the only one to be met with.

The widow of Francis Barber, Doctor Johnson's "faithful negro servant," is now living in Stow-street, Lichfield, where she and one of her daughters keep a day-school for children. This poor, though sensible and well-informed, woman had in her possession many articles formerly the property of the Doctor, which "her necessities and not her will," have obliged her to part with. She lately

* See p. 57.

† See p. 12.

‡ See p. 75.

§ See p. 70.

|| Part 2, p. 275.

¶ The reference should be to p. 353, where is an article on Johnson's house in Bolt Court, which thus begins:—"There is in the human mind a kind of *minute* curiosity, at once *natural* and *laudable*, which renders its possessors anxiously inquisitive respecting the smallest circumstance attendant upon those from whom they have derived either instruction or amusement."

presented a gentleman, who has rendered her some assistance in her distress, with a part of a tea-service originally given to the Doctor by Warren Hastings.*

I also heard of a *pocket-book* purchased in France by a *literary lady*, one of his warm admirers, and presented to him (the Doctor) by her.† This lady, in passing through Lichfield, on her road into Wales, a short time since, sent, from the George-inn, to Mrs. Barber, expressing a wish to *speake with* and to *serve her*—but, at the interview, the *pocket-book* was principally inquired after, and it was reluctantly given back to the ORIGINAL DONOR, who hailed it, in a poetical rhapsody, as “a long lost friend restored”—yet the remuneration given to the poor woman for it was scarcely its value as “*Leather and Prunella!!!*” This pocket-book is mentioned, I believe, by Boswell; but I do not exactly recollect in what page‡—FRANCIS BARBER died, and was buried, some years since, at Hammerwich,§ a small village three miles from Lichfield. The house in the market-place, in which our great lexicographer was born, still remains nearly in its original state||—it is now inhabited by Mr. Evans, a brazier; and a part of it, I believe the very room in which he first drew his breath, is now let as lodgings to a French prisoner of war. T. S. W.

The initials to this letter more or less conceal the personality of the Rev. Thomas Sedgwick Whalley [1746–1828], a prosperous clergyman with literary tastes, whose Somersetshire home extended a wide

* Boswell prints three letters from Johnson to Warren Hastings, written in 1774 and 1781 (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, iv., 68–70), which, the recipient said in 1790, “I believe were all that I ever received from Dr. Johnson” (*ibid.* iv., 66). None of them acknowledge any such gift. Johnson wrote in 1776 that he “lived in a reciprocation of civilities” with Warren Hastings (*Letters of Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, i., 410).

† The “literary lady” would, of course, be Mrs. Piozzi.

‡ I cannot supply the reference. There was “a small pocket book, originally belonging to and used by Dr. Johnson, and containing memoranda of a medical nature in his handwriting,” which “at his death came into possession of Francis Barber, his black servant, and subsequently into that of Mr. [Lewis] Pocock” (Percy Fitzgerald's *Croker's Boswell and Boswell*, 1880, pp. 303–4).

§ Frank, of course, did not die at Hammerwich, and was not buried there (see p. 80). But Burntwood, where he had lived, was near Hammerwich. There are no entries relating to him or his family in the registers of Hammerwich, which used to be a chapel-of-ease of St. Michael's, Lichfield.

|| Dr. Burney visited the house thirteen years earlier (on 27 Aug. 1797) and wrote:—“The house is stuccoed, has five sash windows in front, and pillars before it. It is the best house thereabouts, near St. Mary's Church, in a broad street, and is now a grocer's shop” (*Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*, ed. Austin Dobson, v., 339; and *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, by Madame d'Arblay, 1832, iii., 248). It is rather strange that the Rev. Thomas Twining visited and described it on or about 18 August 1797, less than a fortnight before Dr. Burney:—“I looked, of course, at the house in which Johnson was born—a house with pillars at the corner of the Market-place, now, I think, a grocer's shop” (*Recreations and Studies of a Country Clergyman of the 18th Century*, 1882, p. 227). Bishop Jebb's impressions of the house in March 1826 are thus recorded:—“From the Cathedral, the Bishop proceeded to visit the house in which Dr. Johnson was born; saw the shop (then a brazier's) in which his father carried on business as a bookseller;

hospitality to persons fortunate enough to possess the right combination of culture and breeding.* His interest in Lichfield was rendered more direct by the fact that Anna Seward, then only eighteen months dead, had been one of his principal friends and correspondents. It is pleasant to have this testimony in favour of Mrs. Barber from a polished and level-headed man of the world. We cannot imagine "a sensible and well-informed woman," who kept a school for children, to have developed out of the utterly shameless creature described by Hawkins,† whom adversity and advancing years would have reduced to an even lower state of degradation. In the Lomax collection at the Birthplace in Lichfield is a prayer-book—"Printed by John Baskett," 1739—once used by Mrs. Johnson, the admired "Tetty," and long afterwards by poor Mrs. Barber. It contains Mrs. Johnson's signature, dated 25 December 1740, and Mrs. Barber's signature, dated 20 December 1797, as below:—

Eliz. Johnson

Dec^r. 25. 1740.

Elizabeth Barber
her Book Dec: 20: 1797

and a small back parlour, in which the son is said to have studied. The room in which he was born stands immediately over the shop; this the owner was prevented from showing, owing to the illness of one of the family" (*Life of Bishop Jebb*, by Rev. Charles Forster, 1851, pp. 219-20).

* The initials conveyed nothing to me until in *Whalley's Journals and Correspondence*, ed. Hill Wickham, 1863, vol. i., p. 477, I noticed a postscript signed "T.S.W.," when light broke through the clouds.

† See p. 28.

A saucer, which had also belonged to "Tetty," is preserved in the Birthplace, with a label initialled in 1809 by Thomas Harwood, the historian of Lichfield:—"It was given to me by the Widow of Francis Barber, his black servant and Residuary Legatee."

Frank's widow survived him fifteen years. "Elizabeth Barber, Stow Street, aged 60," was buried at St. Chad's, Lichfield, on 8 April 1816. The incumbent officiated, the Rev. Henry White, who, as one steeped in Johnsonian traditions and as a former friend of the great Doctor's,* must have felt a kindly interest in the fate of his humble parishioner.

* *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante. i., 11, 19, 40; and *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, 243, 246. At these references I have given little except genealogical information: some personal particulars of "Harry" White, supplied by his great-nephew, Sir Robert White-Thomson, deserve to be recorded:—"He was born in 1761; M.A. Christ's College, Cambridge, 1786; Vicar of Chebsey, 1785; Vicar of Pipe Ridware, 1798; Vicar of Dilhorne, 1809; Sacrist of Lichfield Cathedral, and Perpetual Curate of St. Chad's, Lichfield, 1814; died 8 April 1836, aged 75, and was buried at Lichfield Cathedral, where there is a monumental inscription to his memory. He was a frequent contributor to *The Gentleman's Magazine* and other periodicals, but he published no book, so far as I know. His reputation was mainly due to his splendid black letter library and collection of rare engravings, pamphlets, etc., and he had a small collection of good pictures which I fortunately possess, as they escaped the wreck of his library. I have Lackington's catalogue of his books, some 5,000 volumes, with the following preface:—

"The formation of this Library occupied the hours of the Rev. Mr. White, when not engaged in duties of greater importance. At an early period he resolved to confine his collection to books ornamented with engravings, and the result of his indefatigable zeal in the pursuit is shewn in this Catalogue. The cause of his resolving to part with a Library which has been the solace of a long series of years is solely to be attributed to the state of his health. To have enumerated the rare and curious articles would have been superfluous; the collector is well aware that the great portion of the Library is of this description.

"Finsbury Square, July 26, 1824."

"Health," adds Sir Robert, "was not the sole reason, for I fear that his latter years were passed in straitened circumstances. He was a 'character' in his day, but he never rose to the distinction anticipated for him by Dr. Johnson when he spoke of him as 'the rising strength of Lichfield' (*Letters of Anna Seward*, 1811, i., 335)." There are numerous other references to him in Miss Seward's correspondence. He kept diaries, three only of which, for 1795, 1798, and 1800 have been preserved and are in Sir Robert's possession. "My great-uncle's diaries reveal the life of a bachelor clergyman of those days very curiously. He was evidently a very welcome guest in the principal houses of the county, besides being in frequent request as a special preacher, especially of 'Charity' sermons." In John Thomas Smith's *Book for a Rainy Day*, ed. Wilfred Whitten, 1905, p. 202, is printed an interesting letter, dated 1807, from Harry White to the author. White was a friend of Archibald Constable [1774-1827], the publisher, and an "old correspondent" of Sir Walter Scott, whose relations with White's cousin, Anna Seward, are more familiar to students of literature (see Thomas

Among the "Minor Correspondence" in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for February 1818 (pt. 1, p. 194) occurs the following:—

Mr. Thomas Simpson says, "Perhaps it may not be generally known that there is now in the possession of a gentleman, who purchased it of Mrs. Barber, the wife of Francis Barber, Dr. Johnson's faithful servant, the *Original Miniature, painted about the year 1736, of the late Dr. Samuel Johnson, when he was in his twenty-eighth year.*" It is in good preservation, is the only one ever painted at so early a period of his life, and was given by the Doctor himself to Mrs. Barber (who died at Lichfield about two years since) a short time before his death, with an injunction that she should never make it known; which request was strictly complied with, until her poverty obliged her to dispose of it to its present possessor.

If this story be true—and there seems every reason to credit it†—Johnson must have entertained much more respect for Mrs. Barber than Hawkins would have us believe she deserved. And, on her side, it will be noticed that she shewed a decent respect for the Doctor's memory, and did not part with such relics except under the compelling hand of want.

Constable's *Archibald Constable and His Literary Correspondents*, 1873, ii., 12, 502; iii., 301). Sir Robert tells me that Scott met Harry White when he visited Anna Seward at Lichfield in 1807, and adds, on his mother's authority, that the great novelist was greatly taken up with the bachelor cleric's library. He has a letter, dated Lichfield Cathedral Close, 6 August 1808, from White to Constable, in which he refers to "our excellent friend Murray," and "our dear W. Scott's most admirable Muse." Another letter, dated Lichfield Close, 20 October 1824, asks Constable to "present Sir Walter with a brace of Altar Pieces and my Love," the reference being to an engraving of an old altar piece, now in Sir Robert's possession, which Harry White had purchased at the sale of Richard Greene's museum (see p. 57, footnote).

* Croker made the following note in his preface to his 1847 edition of Boswell:—"Dr. Harwood likewise favoured me with permission to engrave for the edition of 1831, the earliest known portrait of Dr. Johnson—a miniature worn in a bracelet by his wife, which Dr. Harwood purchased from Francis Barber, Dr. Johnson's servant and legatee. The engraving in the original was by *mistake* stated to be 'in the possession of Mrs. Pearson.' It belonged to Dr. Harwood" (Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. xiv.). Croker did not apparently know of it being attributed to 1736. I am inclined to accept Thomas Simpson's circumstantial account of its history (which he must have got direct from Dr. Harwood) in preference to Croker's brief statement. We have already seen (p. 84) that Harwood acquired a saucer from Mrs. Barber in 1809. At the Johnson Bicentenary Exhibition at Lichfield in 1909 Lord Rosebery exhibited a "*Brooch*, worn by Johnson's wife, with miniature portrait of the Doctor." This, no doubt, was the article acquired by Harwood.

† If the story were not true there would seem no reason for Mrs. Barber having concealed the portrait, which even then must have commanded a good price.

CHAPTER IX

FRANK'S SON AND THE EARLY METHODISTS

Samuel Barber a namesake of Johnson's—His early life—Becomes servant to Gregory Hickman, the Burslem surgeon—Johnson's family connexions with the Hickmans—Relics of the Doctor acquired by Gregory Hickman from Barber—Samuel Barber's youthful vanities—Methodist revival at Burslem—Samuel conscience-stricken—Spiritual torture—Joins the Methodists—Supports the "Camp Meetings" of Bourne and Clowes—Expelled from the old Methodist body—Marries and settles at Tunstall—Local preacher for nineteen years—A good son and brother—His character and abilities—Last illness and death.

SAMUEL BARBER, the only one of Frank's children of whom we have any very definite record, became a "local preacher" of some note in Staffordshire, and a biographical account of him, written by the sympathetic hand of a friend and fellow preacher, tells us many interesting particulars of a humble and God-fearing life.* In this account it is stated that

Francis Barber married an English woman; they had four children, two boys and two girls, all of whom are now no more; Samuel, who was the third child, surviving all the rest.

The biographer tells us that "our deceased brother, Samuel Barber, of Tunstall, was of African extraction by the father's side, and was born in London in the year 1786."† As already stated, however,

* This biography of Samuel Barber is to be found in *The Primitive Methodist Magazine*, vol. x., 1829, pp. 81-90 and 118-28. The title page of this magazine bears the imprint, "Bemersley: Printed at the Office of the Primitive Methodist Connexion, by James Bourne." James Bourne [1781-1860] was brother to Hugh, and a printer at Bemersley (Rupert Simms's *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis*, 1894, p. 72). The biography is signed "John Smith," and below appear the words "Approved by the Quarter Day Board." This number was lent to me by the late Enoch Barber of Burslem (see p. 100) in March 1908: on the inside of the cover is inscribed, "Isaac Barber's Book, In Remembrance of His Father Samuel Barber which is spoken of In This Book." Enoch was Isaac Barber's eldest son.

† There is then recited some account of Francis Barber, merely taken from *Boswell*.

it seems more probable that he was born in 1785.* It cannot be doubted that, in naming his son, Frank was honouring the memory of his dead master.

The biographer continues:—

In the early part of Samuel's life, his parents left London, and came to live at Lichfield, in Staffordshire. And when Samuel grew up, he was put to a boarding-school in Lichfield, and had a liberal education. But his parents were improvident, strove to make a figure in the world, lived above their means, and dissipated their property. His father at length taught a school at Burntwood, near Lichfield, and finally ended his days in Stafford Infirmary.

Samuel, the subject of this memoir, when about fourteen years of age, was engaged as a servant to Mr. Hickman, surgeon, of Burslem, in the Staffordshire Potteries, where he remained for several years, respected and beloved. As a servant he was faithful to his master, attending to his business with punctuality, though at that time an entire stranger to true religion, and much given to dancing, music, and gay company.

This opening chapter in his career shews that Johnsonian influences were still at work to affect the family fortunes. For the Burslem surgeon who thus gave a helping hand to little Sam was Gregory Hickman [1766–1816],† son of Edward Hickman [1724–1802], J.P., of The Castle, Oldswinford, and grandson of the Gregory Hickman [1688–1748] who assisted Johnson and to whom his first known letter was addressed. This latter Gregory Hickman was doubly connected with Johnson, for he himself was son of the Mrs. Jane Hickman who married Johnson's uncle, Joseph Ford, M.D., and became the mother of "Parson" Ford; while his sister, Jane Hickman, married Nathaniel

* See p. 66.

† Incidentally I can here offer evidence of a purely "paper" connexion between Johnson and his friend Windham, involving also Francis Barber and his son, sufficiently ingenious to delight the curious. This Gregory Hickman, the Burslem surgeon who thus befriended Francis Barber's son, had a nephew, the Rev. John Foley [1805–86], who married in 1846 Caroline Elizabeth [1815–98], daughter of Vice-Admiral William Windham [1768–1833], of Felbrigge Hall, co. Norfolk, who was son of George William Lukin [1739–1812], Dean of Wells, half-brother of William Windham the statesman, to whose friendly care Francis Barber was consigned by Johnson a few days before his death (see p. 38). See my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 122, 273, and Pedigree xxviii.; also Howard and Crisp's *Visitation of England and Wales*, vii., 33, 44. Simply stated, the connexion is that Windham's great-niece of the half-blood married the great-grand-nephew of Johnson's aunt by marriage, who was herself the daughter of another aunt by marriage!

Ford, another of Johnson's uncles.* There can be little doubt that the interest Gregory Hickman's grandson and namesake was led to display in young Samuel Barber was due in some way to their common inheritance of Johnsonian traditions.

In the "Birthplace" at Lichfield is preserved a pair of silver shoe buckles, once worn by Dr. Johnson, which were acquired by Gregory Hickman from the Barbers.† And in the possession of the

* All these connexions are fully dealt with in my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*.

† This pair of buckles is accompanied by the following copy of a letter of authentication:—

"Mary Webb Emery, wife of John Emery of Cobridge in the Parish of Burslem, gives the following voluntary information.

"I am now upwards of 70 years of age. My maiden name was Mary Webb Hickman and I was the eldest daughter of Gregory Hickman, of Burslem, surgeon, who died there about 50 years since. He had a mulatto servant, Samuel Barber, who was said to be the son of Francis Barber, the black servant of Doctor Johnson, and I well remember in my Girlish days that my Father had several valuable articles which he received from Samuel [crossed out, and 'Francis' written above] Barber and were said to have belonged to Doctor Johnson, consisting of a pair of large Silver Buckles, two dozens of silver hafted knives and forks, a fishing rod and a gold headed Cane. The Buckles after my Father's death remained in the hands of my Sister, Anna Maria Browe, until she parted with them to Mr. Ward a few years since. I am confident that those now shewn to me by Mr. Ward are the same which were always said to have belonged to Doctor Johnson and looked upon as being his own Shoe Buckles. I think the knives and forks were purchased by Mr. Kennerley [sic] of Clough Hall on the sale of my Father's effects.

"All which I declare to be true to the best of my knowledge and recollection.

"Signed the 10th day of February 1863

"MARY WEBB EMERY.

"In the presence of

"JNO. WARD."

The discovery of this affidavit had a peculiar interest for me. The writer of it was married first, in 1809, to Thomas Reade [1778-1852], of Burslem, a distant kinsman of my own, by whom she had a large family. From one of her daughters I got a good deal of help when compiling my history of the Reades. And her second sister, Elizabeth Hickman, in 1829 married Thomas Reade's nephew, George Whieldon Reade. These Reades were people in quite a humble position of life, and how Gregory Hickman's daughters came to marry so far beneath them socially I never could discover. The other sister mentioned by Mrs. Emery was Anna Maria Hickman, who married, first, in 1822, Robert Malkin Browe, of Burslem, and, second, his brother Charles Browe. The Brownes were also working people. See my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, Pedigree vii., etc.

The purchaser of the knives and forks must have been Thomas Kinnerly [1751-1819], of Clough Hall, Kidsgrove, or his second son Thomas Kinnerly [1782-1855], also of Clough Hall (see Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 6th ed., 1879, under "Kinnerly of Binfield Manor"). On the death of the latter, Clough Hall and its contents passed into the possession of his niece, Miss Georgiana Attwood. The contents were dispersed by auction some years ago (information of T. A. Carless Attwood, F.S.A.).

Rev. William Wingfield Sandford, Rector of Rodington, Shrewsbury, is an arm chair, always understood to have been Dr. Johnson's, which also came from Gregory Hickman.*

* This chair was purchased by Mr. Sandford on 7 December 1899, at the sale of the effects of the late Thomas Leicester, of The Limes, Waterloo Road, Burslem. The auctioneer's advertisement described it as "formerly the property of *the late* (!) Dr. Johnson." Mr. Leicester had married Prudence (died 5 December 1893), daughter of Benjamin Cotton (died 24 January 1846, aged 66; his wife Mary died 24 November 1864, aged 69; both buried at St. John's, Burslem), but left no children. Mrs. Leicester had inherited the chair from her aunt, Miss Margaret Cotton, who kept a school at Bleak Hill House, Burslem, and died in 1874. Another aunt, Prudence Cotton, married in 1816 William Henry Sharp, of Burslem, surgeon, who died 22 October 1833, aged 47, and is buried at St. John's, Burslem. The arm chair is accompanied by a letter of authentication, undated, in the writing of a daughter of this marriage, Miss Esther Sharp, who with her sisters went to keep a Ladies' Boarding School at Hesketh Park, Southport. It is written to Mrs. Leicester, and runs thus:—

" Dr. Samuel Johnson's Chair.

" It came into the possession of Aunt Margaret, through *your* father having purchased it at the sale of Mr. Hickman's furniture. Mr. Hickman was a surgeon in Burslem and lived at Wedgwood Place, in the house in which Papa lived, and where we were born. He was a native of Lichfield, and during the time he lived in Burslem, he had a negro servant, known as 'Black Sam,' who had formerly been Dr. Johnson's servant [*sic*]: and through this man, in some way, Mr. Hickman became possessor of the chair now standing in your hall. I do not think there is a doubt as to its genuineness. In one of the numbers of the Leisure Hour there is a drawing of the chair in question. I will search it out and tell you more of it. 'Black Sam' married a Miss Sherwin from the Star Croft. Mamma is not certain whether she was Thomas Sherwin's daughter."

I failed to find any picture of the chair in *The Leisure Hour*. Gregory Hickman, of course, was not "a native of Lichfield."

It is rather strange that I learnt of this chair quite accidentally, through my writing to St. Mary's, Stafford, in 1907, for a copy of the burial entry of Francis Barber (see p. 80). My letter happened to be answered by the curate, the Rev. J. H. Sandford, son of the chair's present owner. It is also strange that, years before, I should, with quite another object in view, have copied the inscriptions on the Sharp and Cotton gravestones at St. John's, Burslem, which help to illustrate the chair's history and amplify the information kindly collected by Mr. Sandford.

Benjamin Cotton and his sisters who kept the school were children of Charles Cotton (b. 1748), some time a potter at Hanley, who married Miss Margaret Poole and latterly kept the "Legs of Man" coaching house at Burslem. Charles Cotton was a son of John Cotton [1703-53], of Rickerscote, Castle Church, near Stafford, and brother of Prudence Cotton [1752-85], who married Benjamin Godwin [1755?-1814], of Burslem, in 1779. Benjamin Godwin was great nephew to my great-great-grandmother Sarah Godwin who married Thomas Reade in 1701 (see my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*).

In September 1907, in the course of his inquiries into the history of the chair, the Rev. J. H. Sandford was sent to see Mrs. Douglas, of 85, Hall Street, Burslem. "She is a wonderful old lady of 95 years," he wrote, "and still in possession of all her

If Samuel Barber was about fourteen when he entered Gregory Hickman's service, the date may be placed probably in 1799 or 1800, while his father was still alive.

According to his biographer his youth revealed that love of display which we associate with his father's race.

The outward man was set up as an idol by the fallen spirit that inhabited it. He went, it appears, as far in dress and ornament as his circumstances would admit. He likewise spent much time in dressing his head, as he did not like for a single hair to be out of order; and was, as he afterwards expressed it, as proud a fop as ever lived.

He was strict in his attendance on the established church, to which he had no small attachment. But the dissenters, and particularly the Methodists, he could not bear, regarding them as wolves in sheep's clothing, and as the false prophets spoken of, Matt. vii. 15; and he believed to oppose, persecute, and injure them, was to do God real service. Surely at this time he little thought of himself ever becoming a zealous Methodist.

But the time drew near when the Almighty said to him, as to the sea, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." There was a great revival of religion among the Methodists at Burslem, in the years 1805 and 6; and the word of the Lord run, and was glorified. But there arose no small stir about that way: Acts xix. 23. The Spirit of God was poured out in a wonderful manner; multitudes were drawn together, some to receive the word in good and honest hearts; others to censure; and not a few out of curiosity. Among this last class was Samuel Barber; and while mingled with the numerous assembly, God, who is rich in mercy, beheld him.

It is then described how the preacher's words struck home to his conscience, revealing to him "the evil of his heart, and the danger of his condition." He left the place with his bigoted prejudices removed. "The idol temple"—in this case probably St. John's, Burslem!—"was neglected, and music lost its fascinating charms"; while "he was caused to roar by reason of the disquietness of his heart," and his "hellish brood of iniquity."

faculties. She was an intimate friend of the Cottons. Her uncle Ward wrote a history of Stoke-on-Trent. He was a great friend of Mr. Hickman, and Mrs. Douglas often heard him speak of him. She also remembers him mentioning Mr. Hickman's negro servant."

This makes it clear that the witness to Mrs. Emery's affidavit as to the silver buckles (see p. 88, footnote) was John Ward [1781-1870], solicitor, the historian of Stoke, who had purchased them from Mrs. Browe.

Mr. Sandford's chair was shewn at the Johnson Memorial Exhibition at Lichfield at the Bi-centenary celebration in 1909

The gay young man now appeared like a condemned criminal; and he that had delighted so much in merry company, wished now to be alone, that he might mourn and weep, and pour out his soul before God. His high and lofty thoughts were brought down, and he was become the humble penitent. His distress increased, until he could not rest day nor night. His burden was heavy, yea, intolerable to be borne.

He repaired to a house where dwelt a Christian family; and, with tears, solicited their prayers, and they readily complied with his wishes; . . . The powers of darkness beset him around, hell was up in arms against him, and the enemy suggested that there was no mercy for him, because he was of African extraction, and was of the coloured tribe.

For months he remained in this state of spiritual distress. "Yet he continued to repeat his visits to the before-mentioned family, until he was ashamed to go any more, for he supposed himself to be lost and undone for ever." But one morning at 6 o'clock, when on his way to a prayer-meeting, he fell down on his knees in the snow-covered street, and cried to God for mercy, when his "load of guilt and misery was removed."

This was to Samuel the beginning of good days. He now began fully to lead a new life, as also to promote the cause of the Redeemer in every possible way. He became useful in the Burslem Sunday School, and strictly attended to his duty. He also every week visited the poor that were lodged in the work-house; these outcasts he exhorted to flee from the wrath to come, to repent of their sins, and close in with the Saviour's offers of mercy. . . . Thus, several years after his conversion were employed in acts of kindness to the poor and needy, instructing the ignorant, and those that were out of the way.

He kept a diary in 1808 or 1809, of a spiritual character. Under 27 August, for instance, he wrote:—

I find myself to be very barren, with respect to a feeling sense of God's presence; though, bless his name, my desire is unto the remembrance of him. I want to love and serve him with all my powers. How long, O Lord, shall I be an outer-court worshipper? Oh quicken me according to thy word.

Under 11 September he wrote that he "had yesterday an hour or two with that man of God, Wm. Clowes": the diary closes in November, "and was never after resumed."

But it appears he came to reside at Tunstall; and was shortly after united in marriage with Frances (Fanny) Sherwin, who proved a helpmate

for him in his journey to Canaan. And when H. Bourne, and afterwards W. Clowes and others, were put away from the old connexion, for their attachment and adherence to the Camp Meetings, Brother Barber united with them, and was no mean acquisition to the infant cause. Thus he saw the little cloud arise, and anxiously watched its progress for nearly twenty years.

These were indeed historic days for Methodism in which Samuel Barber was attracted by the simple faith that was gaining adherents so rapidly among the rough pottery folk and their neighbours. As early as 1800 and 1801 Hugh Bourne [1772-1852] had started the great revival in the country around Mow Cop,* and in 1804 there had been a great quickening in the movement.† It was in 1805 that William Clowes [1780-1851], a native of Burslem, became converted;‡ Barber's conversion apparently being effected not much later. On Mow Cop, now a shrine of Methodism, was held the first "Camp Meeting" on 31 May 1807.§ A year later, in June 1808, Hugh Bourne was expelled from the old Methodist body, which was out of sympathy with his open-air services.|| In March 1810 the Camp Meeting Methodists became a distinct community.¶ In June of the same year William Clowes was also expelled;** and on 30 May 1811 the Camp Meeting Methodists and the Clowesites united to form the Primitive Methodist body, the name, however, not being adopted until 13 February 1812.††

With these early developments of Primitive Methodism Samuel Barber must have been closely concerned. In March 1808 the kitchen of Mr. Joseph Smith's‡‡ house in Tunstall was licensed for preaching. When William Clowes was expelled in 1810 Smith invited him to preach at his house, and "James Nixon, Thomas Woodnorth, William Morris, and Samuel Barber cast in their lot with the little company

* *New History of Methodism*, by W. J. Townsend and others, 1909, vol. i., p. 561.

† *Ibid.* i., 562.

‡ *Ibid.* i., 563.

§ *Ibid.* i., 565.

|| *Ibid.* i., 568.

¶ *Ibid.* i., 569.

** *Ibid.* i., 570.

†† *Ibid.* i., 571.

‡‡ Smith was a considerable property owner in Tunstall: he died an old man on 2 May 1814 (*Memoirs of Hugh Bourne*, by John Walford, 1857, i., 401).

meeting in the kitchen, ere long to be known as 'Clowesites.'** James Nixon [1785-1851] was expelled in 1811,† so it would appear probable that Barber himself suffered actual expulsion about the same period.

He does not seem to have married before 1811, for in that year Hugh Bourne enters in his journal:—

Sunday, April 21st, I was at Brown-edge class; there is a beautiful work here. Fanny Sherwin led class. It was a glorious time; several were brought into liberty.‡

We can scarcely doubt that this would be the same Fanny Sherwin who became Mrs. Samuel Barber. Brown Edge is three or four miles from Tunstall, and was then only a hamlet in the parish of Norton-in-the-Moors.

His biographer does not tell us what trade he followed after leaving Gregory Hickman's service, which we may presume he did some time before he removed to Tunstall. But his grandson stated that he was a printer—that is to say, a potter's printer—and that there is in the Museum at the Victoria Institute, Tunstall, a Dutch jug printed by him.§

In the year 1809, he was put on the preachers' plan as a local preacher, and continued thereon until he was called above. . . . His zeal was very great for the glory of God, and the welfare of immortal souls. His attention seemed first called to his parents; and when his father was no more, the letters addressed to his mother fully demonstrate the longings of his soul for her salvation.

Two purely religious letters to "his aged parent" are quoted, in the first of which he urges her to "cleanse" herself, and in the second acknowledges her reply. These letters must have been written some years after his father's death in 1801, at which date he was only about fifteen. His biographer claims from the latter one "reason to hope that a work of grace was begun in the mind of her who brought him forth," a process which Sir John Hawkins evidently thought so necessary in her case!||

* *History of Primitive Methodist Church*, by Rev. H. B. Kendall, i., 105.

† Rupert Simms's *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis*.

‡ *Memoirs of Hugh Bourne*, by John Walford, 1857, i., 314.

§ Information given me by Enoch Barber.

See p. 28

His sister Ann seemed to be much on his mind; she at that time was far from God. Her state seemed sensibly to affect him. Observe, he did not merely stand and view her situation as an unconcerned spectator, but his zeal prompted him to use every effort to snatch her from the jaws of the devouring lion, or as a brand from the burning.

To her he wrote a letter of religious appeal, which is quoted.

Thus he faithfully warned, and affectionately intreated his relatives to be reconciled to God. Nor were his admonitions, prayers and tears, in vain, for this distant sister was afterwards brought nigh by the blood of the Lamb. . . . Brother Barber not only saw his sister brought to God, made a partaker of his grace, but she came to reside with him at Tunstall, and after enjoying some comfortable hours together, he saw her die in the Lord, and depart to sing his praises for ever.

. . . he united with some other friends in visiting the neighbourhood, and distributing tracts among the people. And many miles did he travel on religious excursions to distribute tracts, carrying to the cottage of the lost, the good tidings of salvation through Jesus Christ. . . . Humility in him shone forth very conspicuous: not only was he contented, but wished, to sit in the lowest place. . . . Souls were alike valuable to him, whether it was shop-mates, neighbours or strangers. . . . In his house God was worshipped morning and evening, a family altar was reared, when either himself, or the friend of his bosom, might have been heard, earnestly knocking at mercy's door, begging for grace for each other, and for their children. He endeavoured to train up his little ones in the fear of the Lord; like the wise father mentioned by Solomon, he did not spare the rod: he appears to have followed the advice of the venerated Wesley; and though some of his friends thought he was strict to a fault, yet his wife has informed me, that since his removal, she has seen the fruit of his fatherly correction. . . . As a leader, his example was worthy of imitation; he was an advocate for short meetings, and usually spoke to the people in a brief, concise way. It was also a point of duty with him, to see his absent members once a week; he was a leader that went after his people, and did not merely leave his flock to seek their lazy shepherd, and this was no small matter to a man like himself, as he had to labour frequently fourteen or sixteen hours a day. . . . As a preacher, his talents were not of the first order, yet there was something in him which might put to the blush men of superior abilities. . . . Fifteen or twenty miles, sometimes more, has he gone on the sabbath day, to preach Jesus, and returned the same evening to his family. Thus hundreds of miles has he travelled to advance the cause of his master among men. His custom, on these occasions, was to take his scanty pittance in his pocket, that he might, in every sense, preach the gospel to the poor.

"S. Barber" appears as No. 39 in a complete list of preachers

in the whole Connexion for 1818;* and in the following year he is No. 33 in the plan of preachers on the Tunstall Circuit.† On 6 April 1818 a meeting was held at Tunstall which decided to form a "Religious Tract Visiting Society" for the town, and "Samuel Barber" was appointed the first secretary.‡

We learn nothing more in the way of definite information about Barber until his biographer comes to deal with the closing scenes of his life:—

I recollect hearing him speak at a Missionary Meeting at the close of 1827, when with humility he declared that, in this respect, none should take away his boasting. Friends that I have conversed with have informed me, that there was something so impressive in his last addresses from the pulpit, that they were convinced he was ripening for the garner of his Lord.

At Newcastle-under-Lyme, one of his last sermons was delivered, and I have been informed his subject, his matter, and his manner, were solemn to the last degree, and while speaking to the audience as a dying man, to a dying congregation, feelings the most alarming were awakened in the breasts of those who were not ready to depart; while he declared to them, that it was very probable he might never address them more; calling on them to be ready, that they might meet him with gladness at God's right hand. Thus for about nineteen years that he had a name on the plan as a preacher, he never wilfully neglected an appointment.

The biographer still further develops the excellence of his character, from the standpoint of a fellow Methodist, and then proceeds to tell us the story of his last days.

. . . on the 12th of June he was suddenly seized with a violent vomiting of blood, that ultimately put an end to his existence. This continued at intervals for the space of two days, when his friends entertained flattering hopes of his recovery; but, alas! his legs began to swell, and he was much troubled with a cough, the disease made rapid advances; it seemed to mock the power of medicine, and the skill of the physician failed. For some time he wished to get better on account of his family; on this ground he found the ties that bound him to earth were strong. . . . The last time I saw him was on the 30th of June, when it evidently appeared that ere long he would arrive at the port of destination.

* *Primitive Methodist Biographical Sketches*, by George Herod, 2nd ed., 1857, p. 422.

† *History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, by Rev. H. B. Kendall, i., 508.

‡ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 1822, iii., 280-1.

That day he was delirious, but the next morning his mind had regained its balance.

When clouds and darkness covered his mind, a friend was called in. They kneeled down and began to pray and wait on the Lord, in which position they remained about an hour and a half; but the cloud was not dispersed. Brother Nixon* left him, and his helpmate went to attend to some things in the house, in a short time she heard him call, "Fanny, Fanny." She immediately attended the call. He said, "Pray, pray," she did, and all on a sudden the room was filled with the divine presence. . . . A friend, that he was very intimate with, came in, to whom he said, "God Almighty hath sanctified me, body, soul, and spirit;" adding, "John, when do you look for it?" After this he spoke but little, and at times was insensible. But in his reasonable moments he discovered no anxious fear; the enemy was fully conquered, and on Sabbath morning, the 6th of July, 1828, he

"Took his last triumphant flight

From Calvary to Zion's height."

I improved the solemn event, August 3d, to an overflowing assembly, from Ecclesiastes vii. 1.

Thus lived, and thus died, Samuel Barber, a man that would have done honour to any society, a man that ever paid a high regard to the Lord's day.

John Smith concludes his long account of his friend with a reference to his family.

Our Brother has left behind him a wife and six children; but she has already proved that there is a God in Israel, for he has wonderfully interposed in her behalf. May she and the children meet him again with joy at God's right hand. Amen.

The Staffordshire Advertiser notices his death in its issue of 12 July:—

On Sunday last, at Tunstall, Samuel Barber, son of the late Mr. Francis Barber, the faithful (black) servant and residuary legatee of the great Dr. Samuel Johnson.

In the Wolstanton register is entered the burial of Samuel Barber, Tunstall, aged 42 years, on 8 July 1828.

* No doubt James Nixon: see p. 93.

CHAPTER X

FRANCIS BARBER'S DESCENDANTS

Frank's children enumerated—Samuel Barber's family—Recollections of Samuel's son by Kipling père—Frank's humble representatives in the Potteries.

WE know nothing of Francis Barber's wife that throws any light upon her origin, or gives us a clue by which to trace her maiden name. We merely know that she was "white."

It will have been seen that there is record of several children born to the marriage*:

(a) A daughter born in London in November 1781, evidently their first child (see p. 31). In a letter of 16 December 1788 Barber alludes to the chronic indisposition of "my eldest daughter" (see p. 69).

(b) A *second* child was born before the end of 1783, when Hawkins tells us that Johnson admitted Mrs. Barber, "and both the children, into his house" (see p. 32).

(c) Samuel Barber, born in 1785 or 1786 (see p. 66), whose history has already been told. He was the *third* child (see p. 86).

(d) Ann Barber, who came to live with her brother Samuel at Tunstall, and predeceased him (see p. 94); she was baptized at St. Chad's, Lichfield, on 7 November 1786 (see p. 65).

(e) Elizabeth Barber, buried at St. Chad's, Lichfield, on 9 March 1802 (see p. 81).

* In April 1794 Canon Bailye tells Polwhele (see p. 77) that Barber's wife "brings him both black and white children (alternately)." I can find no evidence of the fecundity here suggested. I have searched the registers of the three parish churches of Lichfield as follows:—St. Chad's, baptisms 1780-1812 and burials 1780-1820; St. Mary's, baptisms 1785-1805; St. Michael's, baptisms 1783-1812 and burials 1783-1818; without finding any entries relating to Barber's children apart from the two at St. Chad's. One Sarah Barber was buried at St. Michael's on 28 June 1789. Mr. Marston searched the Cathedral register (baptisms, marriages and burials) for me 1780-1810, with the same object, but found nothing.

(f) A daughter, who in September 1810 was assisting her mother to keep a school in Stowe Street, Lichfield (see p. 82).

Samuel's biographer tells us that there were "four children, two boys and two girls." My schedule can be reduced to accord with this statement by assuming that (a), the eldest daughter, was identical with (e), Elizabeth, who died in 1802; and that (d), Ann, born in 1786, was (f), the daughter who assisted her mother with the school. Both these identifications seem very probable, for the eldest daughter might naturally be named Elizabeth after her mother; and we know that Ann was alive in 1810. Granting these assumptions, and that Samuel's biographer did not overlook (as is commonly done) any children who died in infancy, we deduce that (b), the second child, was a son.* We need not doubt that Samuel "survived all the rest."† Enoch Barber, his grandson, thought that Samuel was the only one who married and left issue.

Samuel Barber, by his wife Frances Sherwin, of Star Croft, Burslem,‡ who died 17 December 1856 at 12 Haywood Street, Burslem, and was buried at St. John's, had issue six children,§ but evidently one died young, for the family could only supply me with particulars of the following five:—

(1) Isaac Barber, born about 1817, of whom presently.

(2) Enoch Barber, who emigrated to America on 28 May 1850, and died there. He married and left issue. His only child is married to Mr. C. H. Fox, of Thistleberry Avenue, Newcastle-under-Lyme.

(3) Abraham Barber, the youngest child, who died young and unmarried.

(1) Martha Barber, who married John Sneyd. They both emigrated to America on 6 April 1848, and died there, leaving issue.

* To conflict with this, however, we have Hawkins's statement (see p. 28) as to Frank's wife "presenting him first with one, and afterwards with another *daughter*, of her own colour." Hawkins's evidence is not to be disregarded on a small point of fact such as this.

† See p. 86.

‡ Perhaps daughter of Thomas Sherwin (see p. 89). "Star Croft" was the old name for Church Street, Burslem, and old residents still use it (information of P. W. L. Adams).

§ See p. 96.

(2) Ann Barber, unmarried.

Isaac Barber, the eldest son, became a mouldmaker, and lived at 12 Haywood Street, Burslem. He died 5 December 1868, aged 51, and was buried at St. John's, Burslem. He married Martha, daughter of — Bryan, of Back Sytch, Burslem, in 1848, at the parish church of Stoke. She died 19 April 1886, aged 66, at 6 Haywood Street, and was buried at Burslem Cemetery.

If this Isaac, the grandson of Francis Barber, had not happened accidentally to come in contact with a man whose name has, through his son, become a very distinguished one in modern literature, this small book would probably have been smaller by the absence of any reference to Samuel Barber, the lay-preacher, and of his descendants. Some four years ago, Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, F.S.A., who has such a keen scent for items of Johnsonian interest, wrote to me that John Lockwood Kipling, C.I.E., had once told him of a descendant of Frank Barber's whom he had known in the Potteries. A letter to Mr. Kipling brought the following reply,* interesting—now that the writer is no more—autobiographically as well as because of its portraiture of Frank's grandson:—

Isaac Barber, a man of colour, and claiming to be a descendant of Frank Barber, Dr. Johnson's servant, was employed as a mould-maker at the Fountain Place works of Messrs. Pinder, Bourne and Hope, of Burslem, when I was a very young man articulated to that firm.

I understood that he was born at Lichfield, but I cannot remember at what date he said his father had come to the Potteries.†

As nearly as I can remember he was a middle-aged man—say 45—about 1854,‡ but I am a sad hand at dates. He worked in the same shop with John Pointon, a skilful workman, and William Mansfield, a less expert man. Barber himself was not a particularly good workman, nor was he popular with his fellows, being a dull and not very intelligent man.

I was interested in him on account of his name and descent from Dr. Johnson's servant, but *per se* he was not in the least an interesting person. I do not recall a single suggestive fact or recollection being drawn from him, and yet I frequently talked with him. A certain hoarse quality in his voice, which I have since heard in many lands, and his woolly hair and mulatto features, are fixed in my memory, and I distinctly remember his wife, a very tall woman marked with small-pox.

* Dated from Tisbury, Wilts., 11 February 1908.

† Isaac Barber was probably born at Tunstall.

‡ He was really only about 37.

If it were worth while, I dare say there are surviving in Burslem, Tunstall or Wolstanton, people who were employed at Fountain Place, Burslem, from 1853 to 1858, who might be hunted up and would remember him. But I am pretty certain nothing of any great interest would be discovered (save possibly his descendants).

I was an omniverous reader and much interested in Dr. Johnson's life, and I remember everything but figures, yet I do not recall anything but what I have noted.*

Mr. Percy W. L. Adams, of Moreton House, Wolstanton, who continues a family association with the Staffordshire Potteries unbroken for several centuries, kindly followed up the clues given in Mr. Kipling's letter and soon got me into touch with the Barber family, who gave me all the assistance they could.†

Isaac Barber and Martha Bryan had issue two sons and one daughter:—

I. Enoch Barber, of 98 Newcastle Street, Burslem, a mould-maker like his father; born 18 January 1849, died — May 1908, buried at —. He married at Castle Church, Stafford, on 29 April 1878, Louisa (born 28 March 1856), daughter of Edward Parker, of Hydes Lea, near Stafford, and by her had issue:

(1) William Edward Barber, of 35 James Street, Packmoor, near Burslem; born 9 Dec. 1880. He married on 30 March 1902, at St. Paul's, Burslem, Sarah Ann (born 13 January 1881), daughter of George Rowley, of 58 Hamill Road, Burslem, and has issue, (1) Albert Barber, born 13 May 1904, (1) Louisa Barber, born 26 Sept. 1905, (2) Frances Florence Barber, born 1 November 1907.

* Mr. Kipling asked me to use this note without quoting him by name, but his death makes this restriction unnecessary, in the case of such innocent information.

† My principal informant was Enoch Barber, who died shortly after our correspondence in the early part of 1908. Since that date I have not received any information of the family.

Mr. John Baker, of 58 Hall Street, Burslem, to whom Mr. Adams sent my letter, himself remembered Isaac Barber and knew his family. Mr. Baker's brother remembered Mr. Kipling being at Pinder, Bourne and Hope's when Isaac Barber was working there; he also remembered "Pointon and Mansfield," mentioned in Mr. Kipling's letter.

(2) Frederick Barber, of 61, Thomas Street, Packmoor, born 27 December 1882. He married on 15 June 1905, at Wesleyan Chapel, Burslem, Ada (born 11 December 1880), daughter of William Ashton, of 61 Thomas Street, Packmoor, and has a son, William Barber, born 21 April 1906.

(1) Frances Barber, born 17 February 1879. She was married at St. Paul's, Burslem, on 5 January 1902, to Irad Clowes, of 19 Dale Street, Burslem, by whom she has issue, (1) Harry Edward Clowes, born 1 October 1904, (2) Irad Frank Clowes, born 23 August 1906, (1) Hilda Barber Clowes, born 28 November 1902.

II. Edward Barber, of 51 Howard Street, Burslem, hollow-ware presser; born 9 July 1854. He married at Northwood Church, Hanley, on 30 September 1877, Elizabeth Silvester (born 17 April 1857), daughter of James Baker, of 12 Bold Street, Northwood, and has had issue:—

(1) Edward James Barber, of 223 Hamil Road, Burslem; born 19 July 1878. He married at Wesleyan Chapel, Liverpool Road, Burslem, on 4 August 1902, Lavinia (born 24 August 1882), daughter of Joseph Peacock, of 78 New-castle Street, Burslem, and has issue, (1) Edward Harold Barber, born 2 July 1905, (2) Arnold Barber, born 19 October 1907.

(2) Ernest Abraham Barber, born 12 December 1879.

(3) Albert Barber, born 8 August 1882.

(1) Florence Barber, born 10 February 1881.

(2) Ada Barber, born 24 August 1885.

(3) Elsie Barber, born 18 April 1895.

I. Sarah Ann Barber, born 9 April 1857. She was married at Etruria Church, on 21 May 1882, to Reuben Mason, now deceased, and has a daughter, Hannah Lillian Mason, born 3 December 1882. Mrs. Mason is a gilder on pottery ware.

Of slight interest though such information may seem to the "superior" mind, yet it would have been foolish to make this book a page or two shorter by omitting particulars of the descendants

of one so humbly historic as Dr. Johnson's servant. And if in the future the family fortunes happen to rise, there may yet be inheritors of Frank's blood who will take a keener interest in their curious ancestry than we can expect to see displayed by those to whom provision for the day's wants must be the all-absorbing care; and who will be grateful that the line of their descent has thus been accurately recorded down to the present day.

CHAPTER XI

SUPPOSED PORTRAITS OF FRANCIS BARBER

The accepted portrait of Barber by Reynolds—Its pedigree—Edridge's drawing from it—Proof lacking of the popular identification—Sir Joshua's own black servant and his portrait—The negro in Reynolds's portrait of the Marquis of Granby—The supposed Brighton portrait of Barber, attributed to Reynolds—History of the Brighton portrait—S. C. Hall's wordy "opinion" of its merits and authenticity—General review of the evidence on the whole subject—Tomkins's drawing of Dr. Johnson and Barber.

THE portrait which forms the frontispiece to this volume has for many years been accepted as of Francis Barber and as by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Of its authorship there can, presumably, be no doubt; but that it represents Barber is yet to be proved.

The first incident in its known history seems to be its sale by auction at Greenwood's, as lot 53, on 15 April 1796, to Sir George Beaumont,* when it was described as "Head of a Black Man" and fetched eighteen guineas.† It has remained in the possession of the Beaumont family down to the present day.

In April 1808 a "highly finished" water-colour drawing of the portrait was made by Henry Edridge [1769-1821], A.R.A. This drawing is in the print room of the British Museum, having been purchased by the authorities, from the Maude Collection, in May 1891. It measures $7\frac{3}{4}" \times 5\frac{3}{4}"$, and a memorandum on the back of the mount

* Sir George Howland Beaumont [1753-1827], a noted connoisseur and art patron, succeeded his father as 7th bart. in 1762. He "knew Dr. Johnson, and was the intimate friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He married, in 1778, Margaret, daughter of John Willes, M.P., of Astrop, and granddaughter of Sir John Willes [1685-1761], Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, whose father, the Rev. John Willes [1647?-1700], it is interesting to recall, had in 1683 paid £1,353 to Dr. Johnson's great-uncle, Henry Ford, for his estate at Winson Green, near Birmingham (see my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 129).

† *A History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A.*, by A. Graves, F.S.A., and W. V. Cronin, 1899, i., 524.

states that it is "from the original picture of a Black's head, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the possession of Sir George Beaumont, by Henry Edridge, April, 1808." The official catalogue describes it as "Frank Barber, Dr. Johnson's Black Servant, after Sir Joshua Reynolds."* It is this drawing by Edridge which is reproduced as my frontispiece,† and which has previously been reproduced in at least two editions of *Boswell*—the Rev. Alexander Napier's, of 1884, and Mr. Roger Ingpen's, of 1909. The original portrait, which measures 29" × 25", I have been unable to see or have photographed; and I am not in a position to say whether its present owner could throw any light upon its history or offer any further evidence as to the identity of its subject. An engraving of it, entitled "A Negro," and measuring 5½" × 4¼", was made by Alexander Scott in 1878;‡ but even this engraving I have not seen.

The original portrait was exhibited at the British Institution in 1813, "as Sir Joshua's black servant," and again in 1823, "as head of a black."§ These two occasions, it must be noted, were during the life-time of Sir George Beaumont; and it rather shakes our confidence in the modern identification if the portrait's original owner, who had probably seen Barber in the flesh, himself supplied to the Exhibition authorities these titles, one of which contradicts, while the other does not support, the theory that it represents Johnson's negro servant. And in 1861 it was loaned again to the British Institution, by Sir George Beaumont's kinsman and representative, and catalogued as "Frank Barber, servant of *Sir J. Reynolds*."|| This is not calculated to reassure us. A few years before this, in 1857, the portrait was loaned to Manchester and exhibited "as a negro (F. Barber)"; while at the Royal Academy in 1877 it figured simply as "A Negro."¶

In 1883-4 an exhibition of Sir Joshua Reynolds's works was held at the Grosvenor Gallery, and this portrait was described in the cata-

* *Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists, preserved in the British Museum*, by Laurence Binyon, vol. ii. (1900), p. 120.

† Photographed for me by Donald Macbeth, London.

‡ Graves and Cronin's *History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, i., 49.

§ *Ibid.* loc. cit.

|| *Ibid.* loc. cit.

¶ *Ibid.* i., 524.

logue* as "A Negro. Said to be Frank Barber, Dr. Johnson's black servant"; and as "one of the numerous studies made for practice in painting by Sir Joshua." The catalogue also gives a cross reference to the note on the portrait of "'Sir Joshua Reynolds's Black Servant,' which is said to represent the same person."

This possible confusion of identity between Barber and Reynolds's own negro servant adds further difficulties to the problem. The artist's portrait of his own black retainer is described as an "unfinished study," full face; the canvas measures 16" x 12½". It was loaned by the Hon. Frederick Byng to the British Institution in 1844 as "A Negro's Head"; and on his death was sold at Christie's, on 1 July 1871, to — Rutley, for £10 10s. On 11 July 1891 it was sold, as part of the collection of the late Rt. Hon. George Cavendish Bentinck, for £78 15s, to — James.† Its subsequent history I do not know; and unfortunately there does not seem to be any reproduction of the portrait.

Sir Joshua's negro servant is said to have come over from the West Indies as a slave to the family of Valentine Morris, Governor of St. Vincent,‡ and to have lived for several years as a footman in the service of Sir Joshua, by whom he was "pourtrayed in several pictures, particularly in one of the Marquis of Granby, where he holds the horse of that General."§ Northcote relates an incident relative to a robbery committed on the person of this negro.||

Reynolds's portrait of the Marquis of Granby, with his arm on his charger and his "black servant behind," was painted in 1758 or 1760: it was engraved by R. Houston in the latter year.¶ The Marquis sat to Reynolds in July 1758 and May 1760**; and it seems only reasonable to assume that the portrait engraved in 1760 was produced at the latter sitting. In this case the "black servant" cannot

* From which I quote direct.

† Graves and Cronin's *History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, ii., 814-15.

‡ See footnote, p. 43.

§ James Northcote's *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 1813, p. 117, and *Supplement*, 1815, p. lii.

|| *Ibid.* 1813, p. 117.

¶ Graves and Cronin's *History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, i., 380.

** Leslie and Taylor's *Reynolds*, i., 162, 187.

possibly be Barber, who at the time was one of the crew of H.M.S. *Stag*.*

In the British Museum is an engraving, by Abraham Wivell,† shewing just the black servant's head taken from the Granby portrait and entitled simply "Sir J. Reynolds' Servant." I have obtained a photograph‡ of this engraving, which, so far as the face is concerned, is said to be a faithful rendering of the original, and find that the negro depicted is apparently a mere boy.

I now come to deal with another portrait, the existence of which still further complicates the problem. In *The Times* for 9 June 1887 appeared a short paragraph announcing a "fortunate discovery" by "a working jeweller named Simpson, in Prince Albert-street, Brighton," who had "met with a strange piece of luck at an auction in that town."

A picture of a negro, in an old and dilapidated frame, was put up as a lot, and was knocked down to him "for a mere song," amid the jeers of the brokers and other attendants of the rooms. On the back of the canvas, however, Mr. Simpson had noted, when the pictures were on view the previous day, the words "Dr. Johnson's Servant"; and his curiosity being stimulated thereby, he referred to "Boswell," and to the "Life of Reynolds," when he found that Sir Joshua had painted at least one portrait of John Williams [*sic*], the black servant who was so long in the employ of Johnson. The style of painting struck several amateurs as rather in the style of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and that view has since been confirmed by one or two experts, who have given their opinion that the portrait is either an original painting of Reynolds, or else a remarkably good copy (possibly a replica) of the portrait which the great master painted for Sir G. Beaumont.

On the following day, 10 June, *The Daily Telegraph*, inspired by this paragraph, published a long and sympathetic leader dealing with Francis Barber and his history, the only article upon him I have ever encountered and evidently written by a keen Johnsonian.

The portrait continued in Mr. Simpson's possession until 16 July 1889, when it was purchased by Mr. Wilson Crewdson, F.S.A., who still retains it in his residence at St. Leonards-on-Sea. Mr. Crewdson

* See p. 14.

† Abraham Wivell [1786-1849], portrait painter, had an artist son named after himself; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* This engraving is probably the father's work.

‡ Taken for me by Donald Macbeth, London.



PORTRAIT OF A NEGRO, SAID TO BE FRANCIS BARBER
BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE POSSESSION OF
WILSON CREWDSON, ESQ.

See page 106.

To face p. 106.

parent (i.e. Ruffalo) who at the time was head of the state of H.C.A. 2.

The first binding of the volume is an engraving by Alexander Woodhead showing the ship blown across the Isthmus from the country without any visible means. — the J. Woodhead's Servant. — In these volumes a description of the engraving, which, so far as the book is concerned, is not to be a further engraving of the original, and that from the same finished is a valuable a work by

I have come to deal with nature gently. (In addition, it was all that I could do to keep the poet from. In The Green Tea of June 1900 appeared a short paragraph announcing a "fortunate discovery" by "a working" artist named Saito, an "Uchiyama" artist named Saito, "who had" "not only a stronger place of birth, but also a more

On the following day, 20 June, *The Daily Chronicle* carried by its paragraphs, published a long and magnificent letter dealing with Francis Butler and his history. The only words used that I have not mentioned and which were written by a good informant.

The portrait continued to Mr. Maynard's possession until he died, when it was purchased by Mr. William Crockett, of New York, who will retain it in his residence at St. Louis-in-Six. Mr. Crockett

WILSON CREWSON, F-01
BY MR. JACOB A. REYNOLDS IN THE PRESENCE OF
PORTRAIT OF A NEGRO SAID TO BE FRANCIS BARRER

1001 9880 992

To the Editor,



kindly had a photograph taken of the portrait, which he has allowed me to reproduce for the first time in this book (see Plate II.). The picture has never been cleaned or restored: the sight size of the canvas, in its old frame, is $29\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 24". Even the reproduction I give shews it to be a powerful and spirited piece of work which one would not be inclined to attribute to an artist of ordinary capacities.

Mr. Crewdson tells me that the original label on the back of the picture, which attracted Mr. Simpson's attention, describes it as "Dr. Johnson's Negro Servant." Mr. Crewdson possesses a letter to Mr. Simpson from the late Edward Walford, M.A., F.S.A., dated 9 June 1887, in which he lays claim to the authorship of *The Times* notice of even date; and also a "written opinion" on the picture by Samuel Carter Hall [1800-1889], who had retired from the editorship of *The Art Journal* in 1880.* Mr. Hall was, of course, a very old man when he wrote this "opinion," which is dated "at Brighton, June 23, 1887"; but the hasty confidence of his conclusions rather suggests extreme youth. Briefly, he argues that the picture being "the production of a master hand," "the easy and facile production of a great master," and it being extremely improbable that such a "skilful and mature portrait painter" would "spend his time in producing a portrait of a mere negro"—then "infinitely a lower and more degraded specimen of humanity than he is now"—"unless there had been a far higher motive than the mere having a negro for a sitter," it therefore follows that "there must have been such motive in the case in question," and as "no doubt Sir Joshua had more than common regard for his friend's negro servant," the "various circumstances combine to convince" him that "this portrait is the veritable work of Sir Joshua Reynolds"! What reasoning of Euclid could be more convincing?

In Reynolds's diary of his sitters during 1767 occurs the simple entry "Frank," under April. The artist's biographers add a query as to whether this could refer to "Barber, Johnson's black servant."† The various authorities seem to have adopted this suggestion. Messrs. Graves and Cronin, who appear to accept without question the identification of Reynolds's "Head of a Black Man" with Francis Barber,

* See his life in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

† Leslie and Taylor's *Reynolds*, i., 282.

also accept that he "sat in 1767";* and the Grosvenor Gallery catalogue had previously stated that the portrait was "painted in 1767." The opinions of such authorities seem to have little, if any, value upon points of this kind; they do not trouble to inquire into the facts, but adopt the conclusions of some predecessor of equally easy virtue as regards the laws of evidence.

I have now offered all the evidence which I have collected on the subject of portraits claimed as representing Frank Barber, and can only extend my sympathy to those who wish to set their minds at ease on the question of which can be regarded as authentic. For the evidence is only calculated to breed uncertainty and doubt. In the first place, concerning the Beaumont portrait forming the frontispiece to this book, there seems no real evidence that it represents Frank, for its first recorded owner, Sir George Beaumont, who had known Johnson and Reynolds and probably Frank himself, apparently never so described it.† Mere conjecture, adopted as fact by those willing to believe in a conclusion which it would have required some research to question, seems to be the parent of this as of many other similarly accepted identifications.

If we compare the two portraits actually claiming to represent Barber, and ask ourselves which best accords with our conception of Johnson's servant, there is no doubt that we feel inclined to decide in favour of the Beaumont portrait, which shews a negro of such a delicate and refined type as we imagine Frank must have been, and obviously frail in physique as we are told he was.‡ Mr. Crewdson's portrait seems to depict a much more typical negro, a stronger and more robust type of black masculinity. But such speculations have little value.

It is one small step towards a solution of the problem if we can decide that these two portraits are really of different individuals. It is a step still further if we can decide that Reynolds's servant, as depicted in the Marquis of Granby portrait, is not the negro of the Beaumont portrait. There seems room for doubt on this point; but I have shewn reason for believing that the "Granby" negro could

* *History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, i., 49.

† See p. 104.

‡ See pp. 12, 75.

not have been Barber.* I regret that I have not been able to see Reynolds's "Black Servant" portrait,† to find if it resembles the Beaumont portrait, Mr. Crewdson's portrait, or the nigger boy in the "Granby" picture. If we could be confident that the portrait professing to represent the artist's own servant depicted a different individual from the Beaumont portrait, then we should be more inclined to accept the popular identification of the latter, for the entry of "Frank" in the diary of sitters certainly makes it seem probable that Johnson's servant did sit to Reynolds, and the resultant picture is likely to be *one* of those we have discussed. There seems no suggestion that Reynolds ever employed his brush to depict any negro other than his own or his friend's servant.

Further evidence than what I have been able to collect must be forthcoming before we can definitely claim any of these portraits as representing Francis Barber.

In the "National Illustrated Library" edition of *Boswell*, published in 1851, is given (i., 217) a small woodcut of "Dr. Johnson and Francis Barber," which the "List of Illustrations" describes as "from a contemporary drawing by C. Tomkins." This seems to be misleading. Charles Tomkins was born in 1757 and so *might* have seen both Johnson and his negro attendant, but his drawing of "Bolt Court, Fleet Street, with Dr. Johnson in the foreground and his black servant Francis in a doorway," is signed and dated "*C. Tomkins, 1801.*" We may therefore assume that the drawing, which is in "water colours with pen outlines," and measures $8\frac{1}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$,‡ has little, if any, historical value.

* See pp. 105-6.

† See p. 105.

‡ *Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists, preserved in the British Museum*, by Laurence Binyon, vol. iv. (1907), p. 193.

ADDITIONS & CORRECTIONS TO PART I

P. 4. THE REV. SAMUEL HAY PARKER.

In the Birthplace at Lichfield is a photograph of the Johnson teapot, bearing this inscription:—

Presented to the Lichfield Museum by Sarah Anne Parker, daughter of the above, in memory of her brother, Henry Edwin Parker, at whose request the photograph was taken. 12th December, 1884. Waterloo, Liverpool.

There is also in the Birthplace an exhibit of a knife, fork, and pair of scissors,

Presented by Miss Ellen S. Parker, of Great Crosby, to the Johnson Museum, November, 1909. Mrs. Samuel Parker, the grandmother of Miss Ellen Parker, received these relics from her personal friend Mrs. Jane Gastrell. Mrs. Samuel Parker (as Miss Charlotte Bagnall) lived with the Aston family and the Gastrells before her marriage. The knife and fork belonged to Dr. Johnson, the scissors to his wife.

P. 8. " PARSON " FORD.

In the printed registers of Rushock (Phillimore's *Worcestershire Parish Registers: Marriages*, ii. 127) I found the marriage of Cornelius Hord and Judith Crowly recorded on 3 June 1724. This being clearly the " Parson's " marriage concealed behind a misprint, I wrote to the Rev. William Davies, the Rector of Rushock, for an exact copy of the entry, which he kindly sent me, together with that immediately preceding it:—

Jun. 3. Bapt^d (wth the B^ps Leave*) Judith Crowly of the p^{ish} of Halesowen
aged ab^t 40.

do. Marr^d Cornelius Ford of Pedmore Gent. & the s^d Judith Crowly by
Licence.

It is of great interest, not only to find the place of his marriage, but also to learn that his elderly Quaker bride—she was really 43 to his 30—was received into the church on the very day of the wedding, which was also the very day on which the licence was issued at Worcester.†

* The good John Hough [1651-1743] was then Bishop of Worcester. " Leave " for adult baptism had to be applied for by the incumbent.

† See my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 159.

The "Parson"—the fact of whose not yet having become a parson is made more certain still by this entry—was evidently a masterful man who lost no time when he had important business to perform. Why he chose Rushock I do not know. Geographically it is directly on the way home from Worcester to Pedmore, where no doubt he journeyed back to spend a rather austere honeymoon; but politically it lies some miles off the main road. The then Rector of Rushock was a Cambridge man, son and namesake of the Rev. William Broughton, D.D., Vicar of Chaddesley Corbett, so conceivably may have been a friend of Ford's.*

"John Grove of Hagley, Gen., and Anna Eliz. Crowley of Stone," by Kidderminster, were married at Rushock eight days later, on 11 June 1724. I do not know that this bride was related to Judith Crowley.

P. 10. JOHN HARRISON.

Mr. Joseph Hill, whose books I have quoted, writes to me as follows of Johnson's uncle, the Birmingham sadler:—

John Harrison's shop, you have enabled me to satisfy myself, was for several years next door to The Castle! with a baker, Thomas Swift, as neighbour on the other side; but I had three John Harrisons to fight with.

Uncle Harrison's proximity to the Castle Inn, which stood alongside two other inns (Joseph Hill's *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, p. 43), may have accounted for his being "drunk every night" when Johnson stayed with him in 1719. When Johnson wrote to Edward Cave on 25 November 1734, he asked that any reply should be "directed to S. Smith, to be left at the Castle in Birmingham" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, i. 92). The Castle stood in High Street, where Andrew Johnson's shop was (see my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 221), so that Samuel had two uncles in the street: both of them, however, were dead in 1734.

* Mr. Davies sends me a copy of the following entry:—"The said W^m Broughton M.A. of T.C.C. was presented to this Rectory of Rushock by the L^d Chancel^r Cowper upon the promotion of the late Rect^r Dr Timothy Goodwyn to the Bispricks of Killmore & Ardagh in the Kgd^m of Ireland & Inducted into the same on Saturday Nov. 20th 1714 by W^m. Broughton D.D. Vicar of Chaddesley Corbett, Rural Dean." Timothy Goodwin [1670?-1729], who in 1727 became Archbishop of Cashel, went to Ireland in October 1713, and was made Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh on 16 January 1714. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* omits to state that he was ever Rector of Rushock.

P. 14. THE REV. JAMES FALCONER [1737-1809], D.D.

Among the Lomax MSS. at the Birthplace at Lichfield is a letter from John Saville, the beloved of Anna Seward, to "Dear White," dated from Lichfield 16 August 1780, in which he remarks:—"I think you left Lichfield before Mrs. Falconer was brought to bed. She has got another Girl! but what is worse the whole family are in some distress on account of the child having a hare lip." "Mrs. Falconer" must have been Mary [*née* Hall], wife of the Rev. James Falconer: which of her daughters was born in 1780 I cannot say. The letter is evidently addressed to the Rev. Henry White (see p. 84): Mr. Saville playfully calls his correspondent "Mr. Undergraduate," and speaks of "you Cantabs."

P. 15. PEARSON FAMILY.

John Pearson [1798-1855] was in the Royal Navy, but after the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 he joined the H.E.I.C. Maritime Service and for some time commanded their ships.

Henrietta Pearson [1796-1884] was married to Charles Berwick Curtis on 30 (not 22) November 1822.

P. 27. THE REV. SAMUEL LEA.

In the Trentham registers (*Staffordshire Parish Register Society*) I find that Samuel Lea, of Stoke, clerk, and Dorothy Whilton, spinster, were married by licence, on 21 May 1716 (p. 270). Perhaps Dorothy was the first of Lea's four wives: he was then aged about 27.

And on 9 September 1719 was married there Clayton Lea, of Clayton, gent., to Juliana "Midlesel," of Trentham, also by licence (p. 272). Clayton Lea was Samuel's elder brother. His will, according to the abstract I printed, alluded to his sister-in-law Deborah "Middlefell." Which spelling is correct I do not know.

P. 30. DR. JOHN TURTON.

Fanny Burney three times mentions Dr. Turton as attending Mrs. Delany. On 25 August 1785 she writes to her sister Susan, Mrs. Phillips:—"I am by no means at ease about my revered Mrs. Delany. Dr. Turton has been with her. He says she has a thrush, and says, too, by the state he finds her in, that what she must have suffered is very

great indeed" (*Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*, ed. Austin Dobson, ii. 293). And on 6 January 1787 she notes in her diary:—"The next day Mrs. Delany was unusually unwell; the Queen took alarm for her, and consulted with the King whether Dr. Turton ought not to be sent for. His Majesty gave immediate sanction to the proposal, and I had orders to write to him, in the Queen's name, and command his attendance" (*ibid.* iii. 159-160). This accounts for Mrs. Delany thanking God for "Dr. Turton's skill."

Joseph Cradock (in his *Memoirs*, i. 97) tells us how Lord Mansfield's regard for Dr. Turton had led him to allot the physician one of the houses in the Adelphi Terrace, the centre one of which was selected for Garrick:—

Another of these elegant mansions, on more liberal terms perhaps, was bestowed upon Dr. Turton, who had the good fortune to be so great a favourite with his Lordship, that on sending him to Paris, to attend Lord Stormont, who was ill there, he pronounced him to be decidedly one of the ablest of all our physicians. This gave offence to an experienced veteran, who keenly retorted, that "though his Lordship might be an old lawyer, yet, in this instance, he was but a young Judge."

P. 33. THE REV. JOHN HUNTER.

In my note identifying Johnson's celebrated schoolmaster with the John Hunter who entered University College, Oxford, in 1691, I overlooked the interesting and, in a way, corroborative circumstance that his son Charles Hunter entered the same college in 1730 (see my *Readers of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 245).

P. 34. DATE OF ANNA SEWARD'S BIRTH.

At this reference I pointed out the confusion that existed as to the date of Anna Seward's birth and baptism, and how one authority said she was born in 1747; another said she was born 12 December and baptized 24 December 1742; and another that she was baptized 23 December 1742. I then disposed of 'the lot' by giving full extracts from the Seward family Bible which described her as born 1 December 1744 and baptized on the 28th of the same month. But I must now place myself amongst the disseminators of error. Mr. Stapleton Martin, who is descended from Anna's aunt, Ann Hunter, the wife of the Rev. Samuel Martin, has obtained from Eyam a certificate of the baptism of "Anne ye

daughter of the Rev^d Tho^s Seward Rector of Eyam and Mrs. Elizth Seward his wife," on 28 December 1742; as well as a certificate of the marriage at Newton Regis, on 27 October 1741, of "Thomas Seward, Rect^r of Eyham, in y^e County of Derby, & Elizabeth Hunter, of this Parish," by licence. Against these pieces of evidence we can scarcely appeal. It will be seen that the errors in the Bible are only in the *years*: it gives her parents' marriage as being performed on 27 October 1742, and her baptism on 28 December 1744. I am therefore not inclined to question the accuracy of the entries in other particulars, and accept as a fact that she was born on 1 December O.S., or 12 December N.S. The entries in the Bible are in Canon Seward's own handwriting, so that it is difficult to believe that they were not *originally* correct.

Mr. Stapleton Martin (who contributed a brief note correcting me as to the date of Anna Seward's baptism to *Notes and Queries*, 11th Series, iii. 44) also obtained a certificate of the marriage at Newton Regis, on 14 October 1741, by licence, of "Samuel Martin, Rector of this Parish, and Anne Hunter, of Lichfield," sister to Mrs. Seward. He died at Gotham on 25 December 1775; his will was dated 20 September 1770 and proved 24 June 1776. She died at Nottingham in July 1784; her will was dated 4 November 1782 and proved 5 July 1785. They are both buried at Gotham, where there is a monument to his memory.

A correspondent has kindly pointed out to me that in *The Genealogist* (New Series, vol. ii. p. 151), among the marriage licences at Worcester, is printed that of Edward Holbrooke, of St. Mary's, in Lichfield, clerk, about 27, bachelor, and Mrs. Israel Norton, of Warwick, about 26, maiden, dated 22 May 1723. This proves that Holbrooke became brother-in-law to Hunter (whose first wife was Israel's sister, Anne Norton) while Johnson was receiving instruction from them both at Lichfield School. It also confirms my statement that Holbrooke must have been more than 70 when he died in 1772: it would make him about 76, and about 20 when he took his degree, which is reasonable.

P. 35. THE PLACE OF ANNA SEWARD'S BURIAL.

In a letter from Canon Bailye to Richard Polwhele, dated 2 April 1809 (Polwhele's *Traditions and Recollections*, ii. 628), I find corroboration of the statement that Anna Seward was buried in the choir:—

I have now to relate an event which I know will give you uneasiness, I mean the death of our friend, Miss Seward; she died last Saturday, and was privately buried in the choir of our Cathedral this morning.

P. 36. THE REV. THEOPHILUS LOWE.

I found the baptism of Johnson's school rival in the register of St. Chad's, Lichfield, under 1 February 1707-8:—"Theophilus Son of Christopher Low." This shews that he was over eighteen months older than Johnson.

P. 41. ANNA SEWARD'S PORTRAIT.

In a letter of Miss Seward's, dated 5 March 1782, to the Rev. T. S. Whalley (*Whalley's Journals and Correspondence*, ed. Hill Wickham, i. 350), is an earlier allusion to Meyer's portrait of herself:—

You are just such another painter as Meirs, who has also drawn a picture of me, sweet, graceful, and interesting; it has but one defect—that is—*nobody knows it*.

INDEX

ADAMS, Percy Walter Lewis, 98, 100.

Admiralty records, 13, 14.

Adventurer, The, 5, 11.

Allen, Edmund [oc. 1781-84], 27, 31, 36.

—, Jacob [oc. 1756], 7.

Allott, Mary [oc. 1797], 46.

Almon, John [1737-1805], his *Correspondence of John Wilkes*, 12, 13.

Alrewas, 76.

Amsterdam, 80.

Amwell, 23, 24.

Anderson, Robert [1750-1830], his *Life of Johnson*, 2.

Andrews, Elizabeth [oc. 1779], 41.

Angel (Capt.), Henry [oc. 1759], R.N., 12, 13.

Antigua, 2.

—, and see under Oliver, Vere Langford.

Ardagh, 111.

Argyll, John D. S. Campbell, 9th Duke of, his *Intimate Society Letters of the Eighteenth Century*, 27.

Art Journal, 43, 44, 107.

Ashbourne, 29, 31, 36, 62.

Ashton, Ada [b. 1880], m. Frederick Barber, 101.

—, William [oc. 1880], 101.

Aston family, 110.

Astrop, 103.

Attwood, Georgiana [oc. 1855], 88.

—, Thomas Arthur Carless, 88.

Aylmer, Catherine [oc. 1720], 4.

—, Mary [oc. 1720], 4.

BAGNALL, Charlotte, m. Samuel Hay Parker, 110.

Baildon, William Paley, 13.

Bailye, see also under Bayley.

—, *née* Hand, wife of William B., 78.

—, Ann, *née* Grundy, wife of Rev. Hugh B., 76, 79.

—, (Rev.) Hugh [1761?-1833], 55, 56, 76-79, 97, 114.

—, Isabel, *née* Granger, wife of Richard B., 78.

—, Richard, 78.

Bailye, William [oc. *circa* 1761], 76, 78.

Baker, Elizabeth Silvester [b. 1857], m. Edward Barber, 101.

—, James [oc. 1857], 101.

—, John, 100.

Barber, —, m. C. H. Fox, 98.

—, Abraham, 98.

—, Ada [b. 1880], *née* Ashton, wife of Frederick B., 101.

—, Ada [b. 1885], 101.

—, Albert [b. 1882], 101.

—, Albert [b. 1904], 100.

—, Ann [b. 1786], 65, 94, 97, 98.

—, Ann (daur. of Samuel), 99.

—, Arnold [b. 1907], 101.

—, Edward [b. 1854], 101.

—, Edward Harold [b. 1905], 101.

—, Edward James [b. 1878], 101.

—, Elizabeth [1756?-1816], *née* —, wife of Francis B., 27, 28, 31, 32, 36, 47, 57, 58, 66-69, 77, 80-85, 93, 97, 98.

—, Elizabeth [d. 1802], 81, 97, 98.

—, Elizabeth Silvester [b. 1857], *née* Baker, wife of Edward B., 101.

—, Elsie [b. 1895], 101.

—, Enoch (emigrated to America in 1850), 98.

—, Enoch [1849-1908], 86, 93, 98, 100.

—, Ernest Abraham [b. 1879], 101.

—, Florence [b. 1881], 101.

—, Frances [d. 1856], *née* Sherwin, wife of Samuel B., 89, 91, 93, 96, 98.

—, Frances [b. 1879], m. Irad Clowes, 101.

—, Frances Florence [b. 1907], 100.

—, FRANCIS [1745?-1801]:—

his modest fame, 1.

brought to England from Jamaica by Col. Bathurst, 2, 7.

obtains his freedom under Col. Bathurst's will, 3, 4.

date of his entering Johnson's service, 4, 5, 11.

the question of his age, 6.

his baptism not yet traced, 7.

sent by Col. Bathurst to Barton school, 9.

becomes servant to Dr. Bathurst, 10.

BARBER, FRANCIS (*Contd.*)

transferred to Johnson, 10, 11.
 goes to serve a Cheapside apothecary,
 11, 12.
 returns to Johnson, and runs away to
 sea, 12.
 his voyages in H.M.S. *Stag*, 12-14.
 his coloured friends, 15.
 taken to Langton by Johnson, 15, 16.
 his "success among the girls," 16.
 goes to Easton Mauduit, 16.
 sent by Johnson to Bishop's Stortford
 school, 16.
 boards with Mrs. Clapp, 17-20.
 returns to Johnson, 21.
 the cost of his education, 22.
 "took bribes" from Steevens, 26.
 purchases supplies, 26.
 his marriage to "Betsy," 27.
 jealous of his wife, 28.
 wants to read *Evelina*, 29.
 preserves Johnson's proof-sheets for
 Boswell, 29, 30.
 his domestic duties, 30.
 his first child born, 31.
 joined by wife and family at Bolt
 Court, 32.
 Johnson's regard for him, 32, 33.
 encouraged by Johnson in religious
 observance, 33, 34.
 Johnson resolves to provide hand-
 somely for him, 35-37.
 to be protected by Windham, 38.
 definitely provided for under John-
 son's will, 38, 39.
 with Johnson till his death, 39-46.
 attends the funeral, 46, 47.
 satirical work by "Francis, Barber," 47.
 the value of Johnson's bequest to him,
 49.
 depreciated by Hawkins, 49-54.
 " Miss Hawkins, 51.
 does not want to keep Johnson's rela-
 tives, 50-53.
 Johnson's watch held back from him
 by Hawkins, 53.
 Porson enters the lists on his behalf,
 53-55.
 preserves relics of Johnson, 56-58.
 particulars of his annuity, 58-60.
 not fitted for possession of money, 61.

BARBER, FRANCIS (*Contd.*)

Hawkins's cash advances to him, 62,
 63, 64.
 retires to Lichfield, 65.
 hears from Bennet Langton, 65.
 Boswell seeks his biographical assist-
 ance, 66-69.
 his account of Johnson after Mrs.
 Johnson's death, 69.
 his letter to Bishop Percy, 69.
 Percy remits to him principal and in-
 terest due, 70, 71.
 his acknowledgment to Percy, 71, 72.
 his extravagance at Lichfield, 72, 73.
 interviewed by a "journalist," 74, 75.
 his appearance, etc., described, 75.
 his recollections of Johnson, 75.
 sells Johnson's watch to Can. Bailie, 77.
 other relics acquired from him, 78.
 starts a school at Burntwood, 79.
 his last illness and death, 80, 81.
 his widow's life at Lichfield, 81-85.
 account of his son Samuel, 86-96.
 his children enumerated, 97, 98.
 supposed portraits of, 103-109.
 probably the "Frank" who sat to
 Reynolds, 107.
 —, Frederick [b. 1882], 101.
 —, Isaac [1817?-68], 86, 98-100.
 —, Lavinia [b. 1882], *née* Peacock, wife of
 Edward James B., 101.
 —, Louisa [b. 1856], *née* Parker, wife of
 Enoch B., 100.
 —, Louisa [b. 1905], 100.
 —, Martha, m. John Sneyd, 98.
 —, Martha [1820?-86], *née* Bryan, wife of
 Isaac B., 99, 100.
 —, Samuel [1785?-1828], 66, 86-96, 97-99.
 —, Sarah [d. 1789], 97.
 —, Sarah Ann [b. 1857], m. Reuben
 Mason, 101.
 —, Sarah Ann [b. 1881], *née* Rowley, wife
 of William Edward B., 100.
 —, William [b. 1906], 101.
 —, William Edward [b. 1880], 100.
 Barclay and Perkins, Messrs., 62-3.
 Baretti, Guiseppe [1719-89], his *Tolon-*
dron, 33.
 Baring, Cecilia Anne, *née* Windham, 2nd
 wife of Henry B. [1777-1848], her
Diary of William Windham, 38, 41.

- Barton (Yorks.), 7, 9, 10.
 Baskett, John [d. 1742], 83.
 Bate, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.
 Bates, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.
 Bath, 7, 27, 45.
 Bathsheba (negro woman, oc. 1765), 59.
 Bathurst, Anne [oc. 1692-4], *née* —, wife of John B., 2, 3.
 —, Edward [oc. 1751], 4.
 —, John [d. 1692-4], 2, 3.
 —, John [oc. 1679, 1691, and 1706], 2.
 —, Judith [d. 1720-22], *née* (? Aylmer), widow of — B., 4.
 —, Lettice [oc. 1736], m. Mark Hall, 8.
 —, Richard [oc. 1695-1722], 2.
 —, Richard [oc. 1704], 4.
 —, Richard [oc. 1736], 8.
 —, (Col.) Richard [d. 1754-6], 2-10.
 —, (Dr.) Richard [d. 1762], 1-7, 10, 11.
 —, Tryphena [d. 1807], *née* Scawen, 2nd wife of Henry [1714-94], 2nd Earl Bathurst, 46.
 Bayley, see also Bailye.
 —, Richard [oc. 1733], 78.
 Baynes, Elizabeth [oc. *circa* 1722], *née* Garforth, wife of William B., 68.
 —, John [1722?-1808], assumed name of Garforth, 68, 69.
 —, William [oc. *circa* 1722], 68.
 Baynton, Charles [oc. 1733], 42.
 Beard, (Mr. Justice) C. Halman, 2.
 Beaumont, Sir George Howland [1753-1827], 7th bart., 103, 104, 106, 108, 109.
 —, (Dame) Margaret [d. 1829], *née* Willes, wife of Sir George Howland B., 7th bart., 103.
 Bemersley, 86.
 Bentinck, (Rt. Hon.) George Augustus Frederick Cavendish [1821-91], 105.
 Bethnal Green, 52.
 "Betsy," see Barber, Elizabeth, wife of Francis B.
 Binfield Manor, 88.
 Bingfield, 9.
 Binyon, Laurence, his *Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists, preserved in the British Museum*, 104, 109.
 Birmingham, 10, 103, 111.
 Bishop's Stortford, 16-24, 28, 32.
 Blair, Elizabeth, *née* —, widow of (Dr.) John B., 8.
 Blair, (Dr.) John, 8.
 Bond, Charlotte, widow of — B., 79.
 Boscawen, Frances Evelyn [d. 1805], *née* Glanville, wife of Hon. Edward B., son of Hugh, 1st Viscount Falmouth, 45.
 BOSWELL, JAMES [1740-95]:—
 calls at Johnson's Court, 16.
 finds Frank returned to Johnson, 21.
 his first dinner with Johnson, 25.
 Johnson assigns him a bedroom, 26.
 introduces Johnson to Wilkes, 27.
 at Ashbourne with Johnson, 29.
 Frank preserves Johnson's proof sheets for him, 29, 30.
 accompanies Johnson to Oxford, 36.
 draws on Hawkins's biography, 37 (footnote).
 knew Corbyn Morris, 42.
 sly sarcasm on Hawkins, 56.
 documents concealed from him by Frank, 58.
 eulogizes Johnson's bequest to Frank, 61.
 writes to Frank for biographical assistance, 66-69.
 gets Frank to put pressure on Hawkins, 66-68.
 mentioned, 52, 77, 79, 80.
 his *Life of Johnson*, ed. John Wilson Croker [1780-1857], 11, 14, 41, 55-57, 85; ed. Roger Ingpen, 104; ed. Rev. Alexander Napier [1814-87], 104; "National Illustrated Library" ed., 109; ed. George Birkbeck Hill [1835-1903], 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 23-27, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36-39, 41, 42, 49-51, 56-58, 60-62, 64, 65, 69, 77, 78, 82, 86, 111. See also under Fitzgerald, Percy Hetherington.
 —, Thomas David [d. 1826], 39, 41, 44.
 Bourne, — (Messrs. Pinder, B., and Hope), 99, 100.
 —, Hugh [1772-1852], 86, 92, 93.
 —, James [1781-1860], 86.
 Bowden, —, *née* —, wife of John B., 46.
 —, John [oc. 1797], 46.
 Brewer, John, 52.
 Brighton, 27, 106, 107.

- Broadley, Alexander Meyrick, 58; his *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale*, 45, 74.
- Brocklesby, Richard [1722-97], 37.
- Broughton, (Rev.) William [oc. 1714-24], D.D., 111.
- , (Rev.) William [oc. 1714-24], M.A., jun., 111.
- Browe, Anna Maria [b. 1797], *née* Hickman, m. 1st Robert Malkin B., and 2nd Charles B., 88, 90.
- , Charles, 88.
- , Robert Malkin, 88.
- Brown, Dorothy [decd. 1883], widow of — B., 79.
- Brown Edge, 93.
- Bryan, Martha [1820?-86], m. Isaac Barber, 99, 100.
- Bulstrode, 44.
- Buntingford, 23-4.
- Burke's *Extinct Baronetcies*, 44.
- *Extinct Peerages*, 42, 44.
- *Landed Gentry*, 4, 18, 42, 43, 45, 88.
- *Peerage*, 43, 46.
- Burney, Charles [1726-1814], 40, and see under D'Arblay, Frances.
- , Frances, her *Evelina*, 29, and see under D'Arblay, Frances.
- , Susanna Elizabeth, m. Molesworth Phillips, 112.
- Burntwood, 79-82, 87.
- Burslem, 86-92, 98-101.
- Burton (see Barton).
- , — (Messrs. B., Forbes and Gregory), 71.
- Butler, (Rev.) Henry Montagu, 23.
- , (Rev.) Weeden, [1742-1823], 23.
- Byng, (Hon.) Frederick Gerald [d. 1871], son of John, 5th Viscount Torrington, 105.
- C**AMBRIDGE, University of:—
 Christ's College, 84.
 Emmanuel College, 15.
 St. Mary Magdalene College, 18.
 Trinity College, 111.
- Carlisle, 64.
- Caroline, Queen, 45.
- Cashel, 111.
- Castle Church, 89, 100.
- Cave, Edward [1691-1754], 111.
- Chaddesley Corbett, 111.
- Chambers, Catherine [1709?-67], "*Kit-ty*," 15.
- Charlemont, James Caulfield [1728-99], 1st Earl of, 53.
- Charlotte, Queen, 113.
- Chebsey, 84.
- Chepstow, 42, 44.
- Chollerton, 9.
- Christie, Messrs., 105.
- Clapp, Joseph [oc. *circa* 1724], 17.
- , (Rev.) Joseph [1724?-67], 17, 18.
- , Joseph [1761?-90], 18, 22.
- , Mary [1728?-81], *née* —, wife of Rev. Joseph C., 17-22, 24.
- Clark, Sarah [oc. 1754], daur. of Thomas C., 3, 4.
- , Thomas [oc. 1754], 3, 4.
- Clasemont, 43.
- Clayton (Staffs.), 112.
- Clements, John [oc. 1797], 46.
- Clerke, Samuel [oc. 1733], 42.
- Clifton, 45.
- Clough Hall, 88.
- Clowes, Frances [b. 1879], *née* Barber, wife of Irad C., 101.
- , Harry Edward [b. 1904], 101.
- , Hilda Barber [b. 1902], 101.
- , Irad, 101.
- , Irad Frank [b. 1906], 101.
- , William [1780-1851], 91, 92.
- Cobridge, 88.
- Cockermouth, 68.
- Cockfield, Joseph [oc. 1766], 23.
- Collyer, (Col.) —, 42.
- , Elizabeth, m. (Hon.) George Mor-daunt, 42.
- Combes, Mary [oc. 1774], *née* —, widow of — C., 22.
- Compton Bishop, 52.
- Congregational Historical Society Transactions*, 24.
- Constable, Archibald [1774-1827], 84, 85.
- , Thomas, his *Archibald Constable and His Literary Correspondents*, 84-5.
- Cooke, Anthony [oc. 1727], 8.
- Copenhagen, 112.
- Cotton, Benjamin [1780?-1846], 89.
- , Charles [b. 1748], 89.
- , John [1703-53], 89.
- , Margaret, *née* Poole, wife of Charles C. [b. 1748], 89.

- Cotton, Margaret [d. 1874], 89.
 —, Mary [1795?-1864], *née* —, wife of Benjamin C., 89.
 —, Prudence [1752-85], m. Benjamin Godwin, 89.
 —, Prudence, m. 1816 William Henry Sharp, 89.
 —, Prudence [d. 1893], m. Thomas Leicesters, 89.
 Coughen, John, [oc. 1692], 3.
 Courtenay, John [1741-1816], 68.
 Courtney, William Prideaux, his *Eight Friends of the Great*, 60.
 Coverley (Yorks.), 41.
 Cowes, 65.
 Cowper, William [d. 1723], first Earl C., 111.
 Cox, Mary [oc. 1797], 46.
 —, Sarah [oc. 1797], 46.
 Coxe, (Rev.) William [1747-1828], his *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, 42, 44.
 Cradock, Joseph [1742-1826], his *Memoirs*, 113.
 Crewdson, Wilson, 106-109.
 Crewe Hall, 79.
 Crisp, Frederick Arthur, see under Howard, Joseph Jackson.
 Croft, — [d. 1790], *née* —, wife of Richard C., 41.
 —, Richard [d. 1793], 41.
 Croker, John Wilson [1780-1857], 6, and see under Boswell, James, and Fitzgerald, Percy Hetherington.
 Cromarty, 14.
 Cronin, W. V., see under Graves, A.
 Crosby (Great), 110.
 Crowley, Anna Elizabeth, m. 1724 John Grove, 111.
 —, Judith [b. 1681], m. Rev. Cornelius Ford, 110, 111.
 Cundall, Frank, 2.
 Curtis, Charles Berwick [1795-1876], 112.
 —, Henrietta [1796-1884], *née* Pearson, wife of Charles Berwick C., 112.
 Cussans, John Edwin [1837-99], his *History of Hertfordshire*, 18, 19.
 Dacre, Thomas [1774-1851], 20th Baron, 46.
Daily Telegraph, 106.
 Dakin, Joe [oc. 1754], 3.
 D'Arblay, Frances [1752-1840], *née* Burney, wife of General D'A., her *Diary and Letters*, ed. Austin Dobson, 29, 35, 40, 79, 82, 112, 113; her *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, 30, 39, 40, 79, 82.
 Darlington, 9, 10.
 Davenport, William [oc. 1785], 62.
 Davies, Thomas [1712?-85], 52.
 —, (Rev.) William, 110.
Deal Castle, H.M.S., 13.
 Delany, Mary [1700-88], *née* Granville, wife 1st of Alexander Pendarves, and 2nd of Patrick D., 112, 113. See also under Llanover, Lady.
 Dengey Hall, Essex, 42.
 Dent, William [oc. 1692], 3.
 Desenfans, Margaret, *née* Morris, wife of Noel Joseph D. [1745-1807], 43.
 —, Noel Joseph [1745-1807], 43.
 Desmoulins, Elizabeth [b. 1716], *née* Swynfen, wife of — D., 27, 31, 41, 46, 59.
 —, John [oc. 1784], 40, 41, 59.
 Dewes Hall, 43.
Dictionary of National Biography, 12, 23, 24, 42, 43, 50, 55, 77, 103, 106, 107, 111.
 Dilhorne, 84.
 Dilly, Charles [1739-1807], 27.
 Dimsdale, (Dr.) Robert [oc. 1788-95], 21.
 Diogenes, 11.
 Dobson, Austin. See under D'Arblay, Frances.
 Dodd, (Rev.) William [1729-77], 23.
 Douglas, (Mrs.) — [b. circa 1812], 89, 90.
 Downie, (Rev.) Ferdinand Friederich Rudolph, 7, 9, 10.
 Downs, The, 13.
 D'Oyly, Elizabeth, m. (Hon.) George Mor-daunt, 44.
 —, Sir John, 1st bart., 44.
 Dromore, 63, 64, 70-72.
 Dublin, 46, 64.
 Dubois, (Mrs.) Catherine [oc. 1797], 46.
 —, (Mrs.) Mary [oc. 1797], 46.
 Dunn, Thomas [oc. 1797], 46.
 —, William [oc. 1797], 46.
 Dutton, William [oc. 1750], 55.

DACRE, Barbarina [1768?-1854], *née* Ogle, wife 1st of Valentine Henry Wilmot [1758?-1819], and 2nd of Thomas, 20th Lord D., 46.

Dyott, — [oc. 1777], 29.

—, (General) William [1761-1847], 76.

EARDLEY-WILMOT. See under Wil-
mot.

Easton Mauduit, 16, 23.

Edial, 80, 81.

Edridge, Henry [1769-1821], 103, 104.

Elliot, Sir Gilbert [1722-77], 3rd bart., 12.

Ellis, (Rev.) William [oc. 1770], 19, 20.

Elsmore, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.

Emery, John [decd. 1868], 88.

—, Mary Webb [1792?-1869], *née* Hick-
man, m. 1st Thomas Reade, and 2nd
John Emery, 88, 90.

Esdaille, Sir James [oc. 1778], 39.

—, Mary [1755?-1802], m. 1777 George
Stubbs, 39.

Etheredge family, 23.

Etruria (Staffs.), 101.

European Magazine, 22, 45, 68, 81.

Evans, — [oc. 1810], 82.

Eyam, 113, 114.

FALCONER, (Rev.) James [1737-
1809], 112.

—, Mary, *née* Hall, wife of Rev. James F.,
112.

Fanshawe, Elizabeth [oc. 1714], *née*
Snelling, wife of Thomas Edward F.,
42.

—, Elizabeth [oc. *circa* 1728], m. Corbyn
Morris, 42.

—, Thomas Edward [oc. 1714], 42.

Farnborough, 45, 46.

Felbrigge Hall, 87.

Fellowes, Sir James [1771-1857], 57.

Fitzgerald, Percy Hetherington, 99; his
*Critical Examination of Dr. G. Birk-
beck Hill's Johnsonian Editions*, 16;
his *Croker's Boswell and Boswell*, 14,
60, 82; his *Life of James Boswell*, 67.

Foley, Caroline Elizabeth [1815-98], *née*
Windham, wife of Rev. John F., 87.

—, (Rev.) John [1805-86], 87.

Foot, Samuel [1720-77], 25.

Forbes, — (Messrs. Burton, F. and Gre-
gory), 71.

—, William, 4.

Ford, (Rev.) Cornelius [1694-1731], 87,
110, 111.

—, Henry [b. 1628], 103.

—, Jane [d. 1722], *née* —, wife 1st of Gre-
gory Hickman, and 2nd of Joseph F.,
87.

—, Jane [1682-1729], *née* Hickman, wife of
Nathaniel F., 87.

—, Joseph [1662-1721], M.D., 87.

—, Judith [b. 1681], *née* Crowley, wife of
Rev. Cornelius F., 110, 111.

—, Nathaniel [b. 1676], 87-8.

—, Phoebe [b. 1665], m. John Harrison, 52.

Forster, (Rev.) Charles, his *Life of Bishop
Jebb*, 79, 82, 83.

—, John [1812-76], his *Life of Goldsmith*,
64.

Foster, Joseph [1844-1905], his *Alumni
Oxonenses*, 17, 76.

Fowler, (Rev.) Robert [oc. 1767-70], 17-19.

Fox, —, *née* Barber, wife of C. H. Fox, 98.

—, C. H., 98.

Foxcroft, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.

Framingham, 4.

France, 82.

"Francis, Barber," his *Move Last Words
of Dr. Johnson* (1787), 47, 48.

Fulneck, 41.

Fynmore, Jane [d. 1856], *née* Stubbs, wife
of William F., 59, 60.

—, Richard John, 39, 60.

—, William [1758-1832], 59, 60.

GARFORTH, Edmund, 68.

—, Elizabeth [oc. *circa* 1722], m. William
Baynes, 68.

—, John Baynes [1722? - 1808], born
Baynes, 68, 69.

Garrick, David [1717-79], 45, 81, 113; *Pri-
vate Correspondence of*, 44-46.

Gastrell, Jane [1710-91], *née* Aston, wife of
Rev. Francis G., 110.

Genealogist, 114.

Gentleman's Magazine, 6, 13, 18, 21, 22,
41-45, 53, 56, 62, 68, 74-76, 80, 81, 84,
85.

George II., 14.

— III., 17, 113.

Gerard, Frances A., 43.

- Gibbons, (Rev.) Thomas [1720-85], 24.
 —, Thomas [oc. 1774-84], 24.
 Gibson, (Rev.) George [oc. 1797], 46.
 Glasscock, J. L., 17, 21, 22.
 Godalming, 46.
 Godwin, Benjamin [1755?-1814], 89.
 —, Prudence [1752-85], *née* Cotton, wife of Benjamin G., 89.
 —, Sarah [d. 1763], m. Thomas Reade, 89.
 Goldsmith, Maurice [d. 1792], 64.
 —, Oliver [1728-74], 64.
 Goodwin, Timothy [1670?-1729], Archbishop of Cashel, 111.
 Gosling, Messrs. [oc. 1788], 64.
 Gosport, 17.
 Gotham, 114.
 Granby, John Manners [1721-70], styled Marquess of, 105, 106, 108, 109.
 Granger, Anne, *née* Pershouse, wife of Hugh G., 78.
 —, Hugh, 78.
 —, Isabel, m. Richard Bailye, 78.
 Graves, A., and Cronin, W. V., their *History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 43, 103-105, 107, 108.
 Green, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.
 Greene, Richard [1716-93], 40, 57, 69, 81, 85.
 Greenwood, — [oc. 1796], 103.
 Gregory, — (Messrs. Burton, Forbes and G.), 71.
 Griffith, Elizabeth [1720?-93], 45.
 Grove, Anna Elizabeth [oc. 1724], *née* Crowley, wife of John G., 111.
 —, John [oc. 1724], 111.
 Grundy, —, m. — Hinckley, 76.
 —, Ann, m. Rev. Hugh Bailye, 76, 79.
 Hamilton, John [negro, b. *circa* 1727], 7.
 Hammerwich, 82.
 Hampstead, 11.
 Hanbury, 76, 79.
 Hanchett, John [oc. 1772-81], 21, 22.
 Hand, —, m. William Bailye, 78.
 Hanley, 89, 101.
 "Hannah" [oc. 1797], maid to Mrs. Green, 46.
 Harding, Juba [negro, b. *circa* 1745], 7.
 Hare, Augustus J. C., his *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, 45.
 —, Augustus William [1792-1834], 45.
 —, Julius Charles [1795-1855], 45.
 Hare-Naylor, Francis [1753-1815], 45.
 —, Georgina, *née* Shipley, wife of Francis Hare-N., [1753-1815], 45.
Harleian Society, 7, 41.
 Harrison, (Capt.) — [oc. 1702], 10.
 —, (Rev.) Cornelius [1699?-1748], 10, 52.
 —, Cornelius [1743-1806], 52.
 —, John [d. *circa* 1733], 52, 111.
 —, Phoebe [b. 1665], *née* Ford, wife of John H., 52.
 —, Phoebe [b. 1709], m. Benjamin Herne, 52.
 Hartforth, 10.
 Harwood, (Rev.) Thomas [1767-1842], 55, 84, 85; his *History of Lichfield*, 76, 81.
 Haslemere, 68.
 Hastings, Warren [1732-1818], 82.
 Hawkes, — (Messrs. Woodham and H., 1772), 21.
 HAWKINS, SIR JOHN [1719-89]:—
 his *Life of Johnson*, 2-5, 7, 9-11, 13, 17, 22, 23, 28, 32, 35-38, 46, 49, 50, 52-56, 60-64, 97, 98.
 his edition of *Johnson's Works*, 7.
 thinks Johnson required no personal servant, 11.
 says Mrs. Barber was immoral, 28, 31, 32, 77.
 consents to be one of Johnson's executors, 35.
 presses Johnson to make a will, 36, 37.
 directs execution of Johnson's last will and codicil, 38, 39.
 interrogates Frank about Johnson's last hours, 46.
 thinks Johnson may be buried without "the precision of rank," 47.

HAGLEY, 111.

- Hale, Elizabeth [oc. 1779-80], *née* Morris, wife of John H., 41.
 —, John [oc. 1779], 41.
 Halesowen, 110.
 Hall, Lettice [oc. 1736], *née* Bathurst, wife of Mark H., 8.
 —, Mark [oc. 1736], 8.
 —, Mary, m. Rev. James Falconer [1737-1809], 112.
 —, Samuel Carter [1800-89], 107.
 Hamilton, (Mrs.) Catherine [oc. 1797], 46.

HAWKINS, SIR JOHN (*Contd.*)

- condemns Frank as unworthy of Johnson's bequest, 49-52, 61, 63, 65.
- thinks Johnson should have left more to his relatives, 50, 51.
- seizes Johnson's watch, etc., 53, 56.
- ironical attack on him by Porson, 53-55.
- settles up with Frank, 64, 65.
- Boswell gets Frank to put pressure on him, 66-68.
- , Lætitia Matilda, her *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts and Opinions*, 25, 26, 47, 51, 52, 56, 63.
- Hawthorn, Fred. [oc. 1883], 79.
- , Henry Orme [oc. 1883], 79.
- Hay, Sir George [1715-78], 12, 13.
- Hayes, (Rev.) Samuel [oc. 1788], 68.
- Hayward, Abraham [1801-84], his *Autobiography, etc., of Mrs. Piozzi*, 57, 58, 74.
- Heale, 32.
- Heber, Amelia, *née* Shipley, wife of Reginald H. [1783-1826], 45.
- , Reginald [1783-1826], Bishop of Calcutta, 45.
- Hebrides, Johnson's tour to the, 26.
- Heely, Humphrey [b. 1714], 50-52.
- Herne, Benjamin [oc. 1747], 52.
- , Elizabeth [oc. 1766-85], 52.
- , Phoebe [b. 1709], *née* Harrison, wife of Benjamin H., 52.
- Herod, George, his *Primitive Methodist Biographical Sketches*, 95.
- Hickman, Anna Maria [b. 1797], m. 1st Robert Malkin Browe, and 2nd Charles Browe, 88, 90.
- , Edward [1724-1802], 87.
- , Elizabeth [1795?-1844], m. George Whieldon Reade, 88.
- , Gregory [1688-1748], 87, 88.
- , Gregory [1766-1816], 87-90, 93.
- , Jane [d. 1722], *née* —, wife 1st of Gregory H., and 2nd of Joseph Ford, 87.
- , Jane [1682-1729], m. Nathaniel Ford, 87.
- , Mary Webb [1792?-1869], m. 1st Thomas Reade, and 2nd John Emery, 88, 90.
- HILL, GEORGE BIRKBECK [1835-1903]:—
his *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, 13, 30,

HILL, GEORGE BIRKBECK (*Contd.*)

- 33, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 55, 56, 61; his *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, 6, 12, 15, 21, 29, 31, 32, 45, 47, 52, 62, 82. See also under Boswell, James, and Fitzgerald, Percy Hetherington.
- on Croker's chronology, 6 (footnote).
- his literal mind, 16.
- denounces Hawkins's malignancy, 51.
- discovers a mare's nest, 55.
- on Frank's concealment of documents, 58.
- on Johnson's loan to Bennet Langton, 60.
- , Joseph, his *Bookmakers of Old Birmingham*, 111.
- , William [negro, b. circa 1754], 7.
- Hinckley, — *née* Grundy, wife of — H., 76.
- , Richard [oc. 1833], 79.
- Historical MSS. Commission*, 53.
- Hoadly, John [1711-76], 45.
- "Hodge," Dr. Johnson's cat, 30.
- Holbrooke, (Rev.) Edward [1696?-1772], 114.
- , Israel [b. circa 1697], *née* Norton, wife of Rev. Edward H., 114.
- Holford, Jane [oc. 1797], 46.
- Holmes Chapel, 74.
- Hoole, John [1727-1803], 23, 24, 36, 37, 41.
- , Susannah, *née* Smith, wife of John H., 23, 24.
- Hope, — (Messrs. Pinder, Bourne, and H.), 99, 100.
- Hord, Cornelius, see Ford, (Rev.) Cornelius [1694-1731].
- Horne, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.
- Hough, John [1651-1743], Bishop of Worcester, 110.
- Houston, Richard [1721?-75], 105.
- Howard, Joseph Jackson, and Crisp, Frederick Arthur, their *Visitation of England and Wales*, 60, 87.
- Huckle, Charlotte [oc. 1797], 46.
- Hunter, Ann [d. circa 1722], *née* Norton, wife of Rev. John H., 114.
- , Ann [d. 1784], m. 1741 Rev. Samuel Martin, 113, 114.
- , Charles [b. circa 1712], 113.
- , Elizabeth [1712-80], m. Rev. Thomas Seward, 114.
- , (Rev.) John [1674?-1741], 78, 113, 114.

INGPEN, Roger, see under Boswell, James.
"Ithis" (negro slave), 8.

JACKSON, Jane [1686?-1783], *née* —, wife of Rev. William J., 9.
—, (Rev.) William [1701?-84], 9, 10.

Jamaica, 2, 3, 4, 7, 59.

James, — [oc. 1891], 105.

Jawkins, Jacob [oc. 1779], 41.

Jebb, John [1775-1833], Bishop of Limerick, 77; and see under Forster, Rev. Charles.

—, Sir Richard Claverhouse [1841-1905], 55.

Jeffery, Reginald W., his *Dyott's Diary*, 76.

Jenkins, David, 43.

—, Margaret [1701?-86], m. Robert Morris, 43.

Jennings, William [oc. 1733], 42.

Jewitt, Llewellynn Frederick William [1816-86], 62.

Johnson, Andrew [1660-1729], 111.

—, Elizabeth [1689-1752], *née* Jervis, wife 1st of Henry Porter, and 2nd of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., 4, 5, 11, 56, 68, 69, 80, 83, 84.

JOHNSON, SAMUEL [1709-84], LL.D.:—
his affection for Frank, 1, 20, 32, 33, 61, 75.

date of Frank's entering his service, 5, 10, 11.

his description of Jamaica, 7.

his need of a servant, 11.

his finances on his wife's death, 11 (footnote).

deserted by Frank, 11, 12.

endeavours to procure Frank's discharge from H.M.S. *Stag*, 12-14.

takes Frank to Langton, 15.

takes Frank to Easton Mauduit, 16.

sends Frank to Bishop's Stortford school, 16.

writes letters to Frank, 17, 19, 20, 32.

Frank returns to him, 21.

his interest in Bishop's Stortford, 23, 24.

and George Steevens, 25, 26.

tells Frank not to be jealous, 28.

at Ashbourne, 29, 31, 36, 62.

JOHNSON, SAMUEL (*Contd.*)

his proof sheets, 29, 30.

his feeling towards negroes, 30.

reports birth of child to Frank, 31.

admits Mrs. Barber and children to his household, 32.

encourages Frank to value religion, 33,

34, 36, 37, 39.

ill with dropsy, 35.

pressed by Hawkins to make a will, 36, 37.

generous bequest to Frank, 37.

asks Windham to protect Frank, 38.

makes fresh will, 38.

provides definitely for Frank, 38, 39.

visited in last illness by Fanny Burney, 39, 40.

bleeds himself, 40, 41, 46.

his last words to Miss Morris, 41-46.

his interest in Miss Morris the actress, 43.

friendship with Shipley family, 44, 45.

his funeral, 47.

his bequest to Frank condemned by Hawkins, 40-51, 61, 63, 66.

generosity to his lunatic cousin, Miss Herne, 52.

his watch, 53-56, 77-79.

his punchbowl, 55.

his diary, 56.

MS. prayer by him, 56.

his wife's wedding ring, 56, 57, 80.

An Account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson from his Birth to his Eleventh Year, 57. [58.]

his "Journey into North Wales," 57.

his annuity to Frank, 58, 59.

gift to Philip Metcalfe, 60.

why he left so much to Frank, 61.

monument to, in St. Paul's Cathedral, 64.

lends Percy £150, 64 (footnote), 70.

his books and manuscripts retained by Hawkins, 67, 68.

why he told Frank to settle at Lichfield, 72.

disliked being waited upon, 75.

never swore, 75.

relics of, 77, 78, 88.

kindness to Hugh Bailye, 78. [78, 79.]

his appreciation of South's *Sermons*,

JOHNSON, SAMUEL (*Contd.*)

- his school at Edial, 80, 81.
- tea-service given him by Warren Hastings, 82.
- his pocket-book, 82.
- his birthplace, 82, 83.
- early miniature of, 85.
- remote family connexion with William Windham, 87.
- his shoe-buckles, 88.
- his arm-chair, 89.
- his teapot, knife and fork, etc., 110.
- at Birmingham, 111.
- at Lichfield school, 114.

Jones, (Dame) Anna Maria, *née* Shipley, wife of Sir William J. [1746-94], 45.

—, Sir William [1746-94], 45.

Judah, George Fortunatus, 2-4, 7, 8.

Juvenal, Satires of, 80.

KARR, see under Seton-Karr.

Keep, Henry [oc. 1754], 3.

Keighley, 68.

Kemble, John Philip [1757-1823], 39.

Kendall, (Rev.) H. Bickerstaffe, his *History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, 93, 95.

Kennersley, see Kinnersley.

Kennicott, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.

Kidderminster, 111.

Kidsgrove, 88.

Kilmore, 111.

King, Edward, 43.

—, Jane, *née* Morris, wife of Edward K., [43.

Kingston (Jamaica), 2, 4, 8.

Kinnersley, Thomas [1751-1819], 88.

—, Thomas [1782-1855], 88.

Kipling, John Lockwood [d. 1911], 99, 100.

"Kitty." See under Chambers, Catherine.

Knight, Ellis Cornelia [1757-1837], her *Autobiography*, 30.

LACKINGTON, James [1746-1815], 84.

Lamb, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.

Langley, (Rev.) William [1722?-93], 62.

Langton (Lincs.), 15, 58, 59.

—, Bennet [1737-1801], 13, 38, 40, 58-60, 62, 65.

Lea, Clayton [d. 1736], 112.

Lea, Dorothy [oc. 1716], *née* Whilton, wife of Rev. Samuel L., 112.

—, Juliana [oc. 1719], *née* Midlesell, wife of Clayton L., 112.

—, (Rev.) Samuel [1689?-1773], 112.

Leach, Arthur Francis, 19.

Leeward Islands, 2.

Leicester, Prudence [d. 1893], *née* Cotton, wife of Thomas L., 89.

—, Thomas [d. 1899], 89.

Leisure Hour, 89.

Leith Road, 14.

Lely, Sir Peter [1618-80], 4.

—, Peter [1698-1761], 3, 4.

Leslie, Charles Robert [1794-1859], and Taylor, Tom [1817-80], their *Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 41, 43, 44, 58, 105, 107.

Levett, Robert [1705-82], 26, 27, 29, 36.

Lichfield, 17, 21, 36, 40, 55-57, 65, 66, 69, 72, 75-81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 99, 112; Cathedral, 75, 78, 80, 82, 84, 97, 115; Cathedral Close, 85; George Inn, 82; Grammar School, 77, 114; Johnson Bi-Centenary Exhibition, 85, 90; Johnson's Birthplace, 57, 63, 82-84, 88, 110, 112; Market Place, 82; Market Street, 55; St. Chad's Church, 53, 65, 81, 84, 97, 115; St. Mary's Church, 82, 97, 114; St. Michael's Church, 82; Stowe Pool, 76; Stowe Street, 70, 71, 76, 81, 84, 98; Three Crowns Inn, 15.

Limerick, 77.

Lincoln, 3-5, 7.

Lisbon, 26.

Literary Club, 45, 64, 77.

Liverpool, 74, 110.

Llanover, Augusta [d. 1896], Lady, *née* Waddington, wife of Benjamin Hall, cr. Lord Llanover, her *Mrs. Delany's Autobiography and Correspondence*, 44, 45.

Llewenny, 26.

Lloyd, (Rev.) Evan [1734-76], 46.

Lockwood, Bridget, *née* Morris, wife of Thomas L., 43.

—, Thomas, 43.

Lomax, Alfred Charles, 57, 63, 65, 66, 68-70, 83, 112.

—, (Mrs.) Alfred Charles, 63.

Lomax, Thomas George [1783-1873], 57, 63.
 London, Adelphi Terrace, 113; Bethlehem Hospital, 52; Bloomsbury Square, 42, 45; Bolt Court, 27, 36, 39, 41, 59, 81, 109; Bridewell Royal Hospital, 52; British Institution, 104, 105; Bryanston Square, 68; Charing Cross, 58, 59; Cheapside, 6, 12; Court of Common Pleas, 39; Covent Garden, 44, 52; Covent Garden Theatre, 41, 43, 44, 46; Finsbury Square, 84; Fleet Street, 25, 47, 50, 58, 59, 109; Gough Square, 12; Gray's Inn, 14, 45; Great George Street, 39; Great Queen Street, 67; Grosvenor Gallery, 104, 108; Grosvenor Square, 42; Haymarket, 65; Holborn, 2, 3; Inner Temple, 14; Inner Temple Lane, 15; Islington, 37; Johnson's Court, 16, 17, 52; King's Bench Prison, 42; Leicester Square, 63; Lincoln's Inn Fields, 67; Manchester Street, 46; Marylebone, 46; New Norfolk Street, 42; New Street, Shoe Lane, 52; Pall Mall, 41; Parliament Street, 39; Port of, 42; Portman Square, 68; Queen Anne Street, 67; Red Lion Square, 3; Royal Academy, 1769, 43, 1877, 104; Russell Street, Covent Garden, 52; St. Andrew's, Holborn, 2, 3; St. Bride's, Fleet Street, 50; St. Clement Danes, 31; St. James, Westminster, 58; St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, 59; St. Paul's Cathedral, 64; Savile Row, 58; Shoe Lane, 52; Somerset House Chapel, 42; Suffolk Street, 39, 58, 59, 65; Westminster, 11, 39, 50, 58; Westminster Abbey, 46.
London Magazine, 41.
 Lonsdale, James Lowther [d. 1802], cr. Earl of, 68.
 Lowe, Christopher [d. circa 1721], 115.
 —, Mauritius [1746-93], 37.
 —, (Rev.) Theophilus [1708?-69], 115.
 Lowther, see Lonsdale, Earl of.
 Lucas, Edward Verrall, his *Swan and Her Friends*, 78-79.
 Lukin, George William [1739-1812], Dean of Wells, 87.
 —, William [1768-1833], Vice Admiral, assumed name of Windham, 87.

MACBETH, Donald, 104, 106.
 Magdalen Laver, 18.
 Malone, Edmund [1741-1812], 39, 53, 64; and see under Prior, Sir James.
 Manby, George William [1765-1854], his *Historic Guide to Monmouthshire*, 42.
 Manchester, 104.
 Mansfield, William [oc. circa 1854], 99, 100.
 —, William Murray [1705-93], 1st Earl of, 113.
 Marcham, F., 60.
 Margate, 41.
 Marino (Glam.), 43.
 Marston, Arthur T., 97.
 Martin, Ann [d. 1784], *née* Hunter, wife of Rev. Samuel M., 113, 114.
 —, (Rev.) Samuel [d. 1795], 113, 114.
 —, Stapleton, 113, 114.
 Mason, Hannah Lillian [b. 1882], 101.
 —, Reuben [oc. 1882], 101.
 —, Sarah Ann [b. 1857], *née* Barber, wife of Reuben M., 101.
 Maude, —, 103.
 McBracka, Agnes [negro, oc. 1756], 7.
 McKindle, Andrew [oc. 1797], 46.
 Meirs. See Meyer, Jeremiah.
 Metcalfe, Philip [1733-1818], 58-60.
 Meyer, Jeremiah [1735-89], 115.
 Middlefell, Deborah [oc. 1736], 112.
 —, see also Middlesell.
 Middlesell, Juliana, m. 1719 Clayton Lea, 112.
 Millington, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.
Monthly Magazine, 68.
Monthly Review, 44.
 Moody, Eliz. [oc. 1797], 46.
 Mordaunt, Anna Maria, m. Jonathan Shipley [1714-88], 44.
 —, Charles [1658-1735], 3rd Earl of Peterborough, 42.
 —, Elizabeth, *née* D'Oyly, 2nd wife of Hon. George M., 44.
 —, Elizabeth, *née* Collyer, 3rd wife of (Hon.) George M., 42.
 —, (Hon. and Rev.) George, 42, 44.
 —, John [1627-75], Viscount M. of Avalon, 42.
 —, Mary [oc. 1748-89], m. Valentine Morris, 42-45.
 More, Hannah [1745-1833]. See under Roberts, William.

- Morgan, John [d. 1792], 44.
 —, John [oc. 1797], 46.
 Morris, — [d. 1769], daur. of Valentine M., 41, 43, 44, 46.
 —, — [oc. 1784], daur. of Valentine M., 41, 43.
 —, Bridget, m. Thomas Lockwood, 43.
 —, Caroline [d. 1797], 46.
 —, Corbyn [oc. circa 1728], 42.
 —, Corbyn [d. 1779], 41, 42.
 —, David [oc. 1779], 41.
 —, Elizabeth [oc. circa 1728], née Fanshawe, wife of Corbyn M., 42.
 —, Elizabeth [d. 1761], née Wilmot, 2nd wife of Valentine M., 42.
 —, Elizabeth [oc. 1779-80], m. John Hale, 41.
 —, Jane, m. Edward King, 43.
 —, Sir John [1745-1819], 1st bart., 43.
 —, Margaret [1701?-86], née Jenkins, wife of Robert M., 43.
 —, Margaret, m. Noel Joseph Desenfans [1745-1807], 43.
 —, Mary [d. 1787], née —, wife of Corbyn M., 41, 42.
 —, Mary [oc. 1748-89], née Mordaunt, wife of Valentine M., 42-45.
 —, Robert [d. 1768], 43.
 —, Sarah, [1724?-93], m. Henry Wilmot, 45, 46.
 —, Valentine [d. 1742], 42.
 —, Valentine [1727?-89], 41-46, 105.
 —, William [oc. 1810], 92.
 Mow Cop, 92.
 Mudge, Thomas [1717-94], 55, 77, 78.
 — (Rev.) Zachariah [1694-1769], 77.
 Murphy, Arthur [1727-1805], 29; his *Essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson*, 2, 5, 32, 33, 49.
 Murray, John [1778-1843], 85.
 Musgrave, Sir William [1735-1800], 6th bart., his "Obituary," 41.
 Myddleton, (Dr.) — [oc. 1813], 57.

NAPIER, (Rev.) Alexander [1814-87], see under Boswell, James.
 Naylor, see under Hare-Naylor.
 Newcastle-under-Lyme, 95, 98.
 Newton Regis, 114.
 Nicholl, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.

- Nichols, John [1745-1826], his *Literary Anecdotes*, 58; his *Literary Illustrations*, 10, 15, 16, 23, 24, 42, 64-66.
 —, John Gough [1806-73], his *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, 46.
 Nix, Mary [oc. 1692], 3.
 Nixon, James [1785-1851], 92, 93, 96.
 Nore, The, 14.
 Northcote, James [1746-1831], his *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 43, 44, 105.
 Northwood (Staffs.), 101.
 Norton, Anne [d. circa 1722], m. Rev. John Hunter, 114.
 —, Israel [b. circa 1697], m. 1723 Rev. Edward Holbrooke, 114.
 Norton-in-the-Moors, 93.
Notes and Queries, 2, 55, 58, 60, 114.
 Nottingham, 114.
 Nutt, Charles [oc. 1818], 80.

- O**GLE, Barbarina [1768?-1854], m. 1st 1789 Valentine Henry Wilmot [1758?-1819], and 2nd Thomas, 20th Lord Dacre, 46.
 —, Sir Chaloner [d. 1816], 1st bart., 46.
 Oldswinford, 87.
 Oliver, Vere Langford, his *History of Antigua*, 41, 42, 44-46.
 Overton, 46.
 Oxford, 31, 36.
 —, University of:—
 Christ Church, 17, 56, 76.
 Pembroke College, 27.
 University College, 113.

- P**ACKMOOR, 100, 101.
 Paris, 26, 113.
 Parker, Charlotte, née Bagnall, wife of Samuel Hay P., 110.
 —, Edward [oc. 1856], 100.
 —, Ellen S., 110.
 —, Henry Edwin [decd. 1884], 110.
 —, Louisa [b. 1856], m. Enoch Barber, 100.
 —, (Rev.) Samuel Hay [1804?-45], 110.
 —, Sarah Anne [d. 1907], 110.
 Paul, Lewis [d. 1759], 6, 12.
 Peacock, Joseph [oc. 1882], 101.

- Peacock, Lavinia [b. 1882], m. Edward James Barber, 101.
- Pearson, Elizabeth [1764?-1856], *née* Falconer, wife of Rev. John Batteridge P., 85.
- , Henrietta [1796-1884], m. Charles Berwick Curtis, 112.
- , John [1798-1855], 112.
- Pedmore, 110, 111.
- Pembroke, Henry Herbert [1734-94], 10th Earl of, 44.
- Penney, Norman, 23.
- Percy, Thomas [1729-1811], Bishop of Dromore, 10, 16, 23, 63-66, 69-72.
- Perkins, Messrs. Barclay and, 62-3.
- Perry, Charles [oc. 1774], 22.
- Pershouse, Anne, m. Hugh Granger, 78.
- , John, 78.
- Peterborough, 46.
- , Earl of. See under Mordaunt, Charles.
- Pettit, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.
- Phillimore, William P. W., his *Worcestershire Parish Registers*, 110.
- Phillips, Susanna Elizabeth, *née* Burney, wife of Molesworth P., 112.
- Piercefield (Mon.), 42-44.
- Pinder, Bourne and Hope, Messrs., 99, 100.
- Pink, William Duncombe, 68.
- Piozzi, Gabriel, 74.
- , Hester Lynch [1741-1821], *née* Salusbury, wife 1st of Henry Thrale, and 2nd of Gabriel P., 21, 29, 31, 35, 74, 82; her *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 11, 16, 27, 28, 30, 33; her *Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson*, 32; see also under Broadley, Alexander Meyrick, and Hayward, Abraham.
- Pipe Grange, 76.
- Pipe Ridware, 84.
- Pocock, Lewis [1808-82], 82.
- Pointon, John [oc. circa 1854], 99, 100.
- Polwhele, Richard [1760-1838], his *Traditions and Recollections*, 55, 56, 76, 77, 97, 114.
- Poole, Margaret, m. Charles Cotton, 89.
- Porson, Richard [1759-1808], 53-55.
- Porter, Lucy [1715-86], 15, 32, 56.
- Portland, Margaret Cavendish [1715-85], *née* Harley, Duchess of, wife of William Bentinck [1709-62], 2nd Duke of P., 44.
- Price, (Rev.) Thomas [1732?-97], 76, 77.
- Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 72, 79, 86, 95.
- Prior, Sir James [1790?-1869], his *Life of Edmund Malone*, 53.
- R**AMBLER, *The*, 5, 11.
- Reade, Aleya Lyell, his *Johnsonian Gleanings*, Part I., 57, 78, 84, 110-115 (additions and corrections to); his *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, 10, 50, 52, 56, 57, 59, 78, 84, 87-89, 103, 110, 111, 113.
- , Elizabeth [1795?-1844], *née* Hickman, wife of George Whieldon R., 88.
- , George Whieldon [1804?-77], 88.
- , Mary Webb [1792?-1869], *née* Hickman, wife 1st of Thomas R., and 2nd of John Emery, 88, 90.
- , Sarah [d. 1763], *née* Godwin, wife of Thomas R., 89.
- , Thomas [1671-1736], 89.
- , Thomas [1778-1852], 88.
- Redemptorist Fathers, 19.
- Rest, Harriet [oc. 1797], 46.
- Reynolds, Frances [1729-1807], 30.
- , Sir Joshua [1723-92], 17, 30, 38, 53, 63, 66, 103-109; see also under Graves, A.; Leslie, Charles Robert; and Northcote, James.
- Rhodes, Cecil John [1853-1902], 22.
- Rice, Charlotte [oc. 1797], 46.
- Rich, E. [oc. 1797], 47.
- Richards, (Rev.) — [oc. 1797], 46.
- Richmond (Yorks.), 9.
- Rickerscote, 89.
- Roberts, William, 74.
- , William [1767-1849], his *Memoirs of Hannah More*, 45.
- Rocester, 7.
- Rochester, 50.
- Rodington, 89.
- Roe, Edward, 8.
- Rosebery, Archibald, 5th Earl of, 85.
- Rowles, Caroline [oc. 1797], 46.
- , Daniel [oc. 1797], jun., 46.
- , (Mrs.) Margaret [oc. 1797], 46.
- Rowley, George [oc. 1881], 100.

Rowley, Sarah Ann [b. 1881], m. William Edward Barber, 100.
 Rushock, 110, 111.
 Rutley, — [oc. 1871], 105.

ST. ASAPH. See under Shipley, Jonathan and William Davies.

St. Jago-de-la-Vega (Jamaica), 2, 4.
 St. Leonards-on-Sea, 106.
 St. Vincent, island of, 41, 42, 44, 105.
 Salisbury, 32.
 Sandford, (Rev.) John Hamilton, 80, 89.
 —, (Rev.) William Wingfield, 89, 90.
 Sandgate, 60.
 Sankey, Samuel [oc. 1692], 3.
 Saville, (Rev.) John [1736?-1803], 112.
 Scott, Alexander [oc. 1878], 104.
 —, John [1730-83], 23, 24.
 —, John Barker [1764?-1819], 55.
 —, Sir Walter [1771-1832], 1st bart., 84, 85.
 —, William [1745-1836], cr. Lord Stowell, 38, 53, 58, 66.
 Selborne, 58.
 Selby, Lydia [oc. 1692], *née* —, wife of William S., 3.
 —, William [oc. 1692], 3.
 Seton, Caroline [oc. 1797], 46.
 —, Eliza [oc. 1797], 46.
 —, Elizabeth Sarah [1760?-1803], *née* Wilmot, wife of James S., 45, 46.
 —, Henry [oc. 1797], 46.
 —, James [1757-1836], 45, 46.
 —, James [oc. 1797], jun., 46.
 Seton-Karr family, 45.
 Seward, Anna [1742-1809], 68, 69, 75, 83-85, 112-115; *Letters of*, 84.
 —, Anne, see Seward, Anna.
 —, Elizabeth [1712-80], *née* Hunter, wife of Rev. Thomas S., 114.
 —, (Rev.) Thomas [1708-90], 114.
Shakespeare, Steevens's ed. of, 25, 26.
 Sharp, Esther, 89.
 —, Prudence, *née* Cotton, wife of William Henry S., 89.
 —, William Henry [1786?-1833], 89.
 Shaw, (Rev.) Stebbing [1762-1802], his *History of Staffordshire*, 76, 78.
 Sheerness, 13, 14.
 Shenstone, William [1714-63], 42.

Sherwin, Frances [d. 1856], m. Samuel Barber, 89, 91, 93, 96, 98.
 —, Thomas, 89, 98.
 Shipley, Amelia, m. Reginald Heber [1783-1826], 45.
 —, Anna Maria, *née* Mordaunt, wife of Jonathan S. [1714-88], 44.
 —, Anna Maria, m. 1783 Sir William Jones, 45.
 —, Georgina, m. Francis Hare-Naylor [1753-1815], 45.
 —, Jonathan [1714-88], Bishop of St. Asaph, 44, 45.
 —, William Davies [1745-1826], Dean of St. Asaph, 45.
 Shrewsbury, 89.
 Siddons, Sarah [1755-1831], *née* Kemble, m. 1773 William S., 32.
 Simms, Rupert, his *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis*, 76, 77, 86, 93.
 Simpson, — [oc. 1887-89], 106, 107.
 —, Thomas [oc. 1818], 85.
 Singleton, Great, 42.
 Skeet, (Major) Francis John Angus, 18.
 Slater, George [oc. 1779], 41.
 Smith, — [oc. 1770], 20, 24.
 — family of Bishop's Stortford, 23.
 —, Eliz. [oc. 1797], 46.
 —, John [oc. 1828], 86, 96.
 —, John Thomas [1766-1833], his *Book for a Rainy Day*, 84; his *Nollekens and His Times*, 55.
 —, Joseph [d. 1814], 92.
 —, S. [oc. 1734], 111.
 —, Susannah [1718?-98], 23.
 —, Susannah [1722?-88], 23.
 —, Susannah, m. 1757 John Hoole, 23, 24.
 Smollett, Tobias George [1721-71], 12, 13.
 Snelling, Elizabeth, m. 1714 Thomas Edward Fanshawe, 42.
 Sneyd, John, 98.
 —, Martha, *née* Barber, wife of John S., 98.
 Solomon, 94.
 Sotheby's, Messrs., 74.
 South, Robert [1634-1716], his *Sermons on Prayer*, 60, 78, 79.
 Southport, 89.
 Spencer, (Mrs.) Alice [oc. 1797], 46.
 Spiritual Court, 66.
 Stafford, 80, 87, 89, 100.
Staffordshire Advertiser, 96.

Staffordshire Parish Register Society, 7.
112.

Stag, H.M.S., 12-14, 106.

Stawley, 55.

Steeton, 68.

Steevens, George [1736-1800], 39; his ed.
of *Shakespeare*, 25, 26.

Stevens, Elizabeth [oc. 1692], *née* —, wife
of Samuel S., 2.

—, Samuel [oc. 1692], 2.

Stoke-upon-Trent, 90, 99, 112.

Stone (Kidderminster), 111.

Stormont, David Murray [1727-96], 7th
Viscount, afterwards 2nd Earl of
Mansfield, 113.

Stowell, Lord, see Scott, William.

Strahan, (Rev.) George [1744-1824], 37,
38, 56.

—, William [1715-85], 52, 62.

Streatham, 28, 29, 74, 75.

Stubbs, George [1715?-94], 39.

—, George [1738?-1808], 39, 58-60, 65.

—, Jane [d. 1856], m. 1789 William Fyn-
more, 59, 60.

—, Mary [1755?-1802], *née* Esdaile, wife
of George S., 39.

—, Thomas [1740-82], 60.

—, Sir Thomas William [1776-1844], cr. Vis-
count Villa Nova de Gaia, 60.

Sullivan, Arabella Jane [d. 1839], *née* Wil-
mot, wife of Rev. Frederick Sullivan,
46.

—, Sir Francis William [1834-1906], 6th
bart., 46.

— (Rev.) Frederick [1797-1873], 46.

Summers, Rev. W. H., 24.

Swansea, 43.

Swift, Thomas, 111.

Swynfen, Elizabeth [b. 1716], m. — Des-
moulins, 27, 31, 41, 46, 59.

—, Samuel [1679?-1736], 59.

TASSO, Hoole's translation of, 23.

Taylor, Jeremy [1613-67], his *Ductor
Dubitantium*, 65.

—, (Rev.) John [1711-88], 11, 29.

—, John [1757-1832], his *Records of My
Life*, 39.

—, Tom. See under Leslie, Charles Robert.

Tees, River, 9.

Thackeray, William Makepeace [1811-63],
55.

Thaxted, 23.

Thomas, John [1712-93], Bishop of
Rochester, 50.

Thompson, George [oc. 1754], 3.

Thomson, see White-Thomson.

Thrale, Henry [1724-81], 11, 27.

—, Hester Lynch. See under Piozzi.

—, Hester Maria [1762-1857], m. 1808
George Keith Elphinstone [1746-
1823], Viscount Keith, 27.

Times, The, 106, 107.

Tindall, (Capt.) George [d. 1777], R.N., 13.

Tisbury, 99.

Tite, Sir William [1798-1873], 74.

Tomkins, Charles [b. 1757], 109.

Tooke, (Dr.) Thomas [d. 1721], 19.

Torbay, 14.

Townsend, W. J., his *New History of
Methodism*, 92.

Treasury Books and Papers, Calendar of,
42.

Tredegar, 43, 44.

Trentham, 112.

Tucker, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.

—, Elizabeth [oc. 1797], 46.

Tulloch, Mary [oc. 1797], 46.

Tunstall, 86, 91-97, 99, 100.

Turner, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1754], 3.

—, Anne [oc. 1779-89], 41, 42.

—, (Rev.) Baptist Noel, 15.

Turton, John [1735-1806], M.D., 112, 113.

Tussler, John [oc. 1797], 46.

Twining, (Rev.) Thomas [1735-1804], *Re-
creations and Studies of a Country
Clergyman of the 18th Century*, 82.

Twynford Moors, 45.

Tyers, Thomas [1726-87], 61.

UDAL, John Symonds, 2.

Upminster, 39.

Utttoxeter, 79.

VICTORIA County History of Hert-
fordshire, 19.

Villa Nova de Gaia, Viscount. See Stubbs,
Sir Thomas William.

Virginia (U.S.A.), 7.

- "W., G. J." [oc. 1885], 58.
 — "W., T. S." See Whalley, Thomas Sedgwick.
 Wakefield, Richard [d. 1733], 78.
 Walford, Edward [1823-97], 107.
 —, John, his *Memoirs of Hugh Bourne*, 92, 93.
 Walton-on-the-Hill, 74.
 Ward, John [1781-1870], 88, 90.
 —, William [1750-1823], 3rd Viscount Dudley and Ward, 66.
 Ware, 22.
 Warren, Richard [1731-97], 40.
 Warwick, 114.
 Waterloo (Liverpool), 110.
 Watson, (Hon.) James [oc. 1755], 4.
 Webb, Stephen [oc. 1781], 22.
 Wells, 87.
 Wesley, John [1903-91], 94.
 Wey, River, 59, 60.
 Whalley, (Rev.) Thomas Sedgwick [1746-1828], 82-83; and see under Wickham, Hill.
 Wheatley, Henry Benjamin, his *London Past and Present*, 67.
 Whilton, Dorothy, m. 1716 Rev. Samuel Lea, 112.
 Whitaker, (Rev.) Thomas Dunham [1759-1821], his *History of Craven*, 68.
 White family of Lichfield, 57.
 — [oc. 1784], 58.
 — [oc. 1813-14], 57, 58.
 —, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1784], 58.
 —, Benjamin [1726?-94], 58.
 —, Benjamin [1764?-1821], 58.
 —, (Rev.) Gilbert [1720-93], 58.
 —, (Rev.) Henry [1761-1836], 55, 76, 84, 85, 112.
 —, John [1765?-1855], 58.
 White-Thomson, Sir Robert Thomas, 80, 84, 85.
 Whitten, Wilfred, his ed. of J. T. Smith's *Book for a Rainy Day*, 84.
 Wickham, Hill, his *Whalley's Journals and Correspondence*, 83, 115.
 Wilby, Thomas [1803-75], 18.
 Wilkes, John [1727-97], 12-14, 27; see also under Almon, John.
 Wilkinson, (Rev.) John [oc. 1782], 9.
 Willes, (Mrs.) — [oc. 1797], 46.
 —, (Rev.) John [1647?-1700], 103.
 Willes, Sir John [1685-1761], 103.
 —, John [d. 1784], M.P., 103.
 —, Margaret, m. 1778 Sir George Howland Beaumont, 7th bart., 103.
 Williams, Ann [oc. 1797], 46.
 —, Anna [1706-83], 22-25, 32.
 —, John, 106.
 Wilmot, Arabella Jane [d. 1839], m. 1821 Rev. Frederick Sullivan, 46.
 —, Barbarina [1768?-1854], *née* Ogle, wife 1st of Valentine Henry W. [1758?-1819], and 2nd of Thomas, 20th Lord Dacre, 46.
 —, Elizabeth [d. 1761], m. 1720 Valentine Morris, 42.
 —, Elizabeth Sarah [1760?-1803], m. 1782 James Seton, 45, 46.
 —, Henry [1710?-94], 45.
 —, Sir John Eardley [1709-92], 45.
 —, Nicholas, 42.
 —, Sarah [1724?-93], *née* Morris, wife of Henry W., 45, 46.
 —, Valentine Henry [1758?-1819], 45.
 Wimbledon, 41.
 Windham, Caroline Elizabeth [1815-98], m. Rev. John Foley, 87.
 —, William [1750-1810], 37, 38, 40, 87.
 —, (Vice Admiral) William [1768-1833], born Lukin, 87.
 Windus, William [d. 1792], 22.
 —, William Plumer [oc. 1774-81], 22.
 Winson Green, 103.
 Wivell, Abraham [1786-1849], 106.
 —, Abraham, jun., 106.
 Wolstanton, 96, 100.
 Woodham and Hawkes, Messrs. [oc. 1772], 21.
 Woodnorth, Thomas [oc. 1810], 92.
 Worcester, 110, 111.
 Wright, (Mrs.) —, m. 1758 Corbyn Morris, 42.
 —, Richard [d. 1821], 57, 80, 81.
 Wye, River, 42.
- Y**ARMOUTH, 13.
 Young, (Rev.) Arthur [1741-1820], his *Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, 44.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, 11TH EDITION.

"VALUABLE WORK HAS BEEN DONE IN JOHNSONIAN
GENEALOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY BY ALEYN LYELL READE
IN HIS 'JOHNSONIAN GLEANINGS,' ETC."

JOHNSONIAN GLEANINGS: PART I NOTES ON DR. JOHNSON'S ANCESTORS AND CONNEXIONS AND ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS EARLY LIFE.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE ANTIQUARY.—"Mr. Reade's former publication—*The Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*—made him known to those interested in Johnson and his epoch as a student of indefatigable earnestness and of keen enthusiasm for original research. Boswell and the other usual sources for Johnsonian biography are the resort of everyone; but Mr. Reade, with his capacity for taking infinite pains and sparing no expense where a new fact is to be hunted down, has gone to original sources, and has prosecuted his researches in new and fruitful directions. . . . We cannot help regretting that the fruit of so much original work has not been published in the ordinary way for the world of readers in general. . . . A knowledge of the contents of this volume, as of those of its predecessor, is indispensable to all serious students of Johnson and his times. A word must be added as to the fine illustrations of the book. . . . It only remains to be added that a very full index concludes a remarkable volume, which will be cherished by every Johnsonian fortunate enough to possess it."

THE CHURCHMAN.—"A word of something more than conventional thanks is due to the author for this most valuable book, which contains matter not to be found elsewhere. . . . We cordially thank Mr. Reade for his book, and shall look forward with real pleasure to the rest of the contemplated series."

NOTES AND QUERIES.—"We cannot forgo the opportunity of remarking that it is one of the very few contributions which are genuine additions to our knowledge of Johnson's life and circle. . . . Mr. Reade here, and in his *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, has done such good original work that we regret the circumstance of private and limited printing. . . . A dip into the text, almost anywhere, will afford the admirers of the great Doctor some light on his personal habits, his friends, kindred, or property. Our readers know this, but we hope Mr. Reade will have due credit beyond

the wide community of 'N. and Q.'—in quarters less precise about *meum* and *teum*—for the zeal and success of his labours."

THE SPHERE (MR. C. K. SHORTER).—"Mr. Reade long since excited my enthusiasm by his volume entitled *The Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*. . . . Mr. Reade has made more additions to our knowledge of Johnson than any other Johnsonian student of our time. . . . I hope, therefore, that Mr. Reade will see his way at some future time to edit Boswell's *Life of Johnson*."

SHEFFIELD DAILY TELEGRAPH.—"Mr. Reade is probably the best informed Johnson scholar (as distinct from literary critic or expositor) of his day."

DUNDEE ADVERTISER.—"Mr. Aley Lyell Reade is well known as a keen and diligent student of all matters relating to Dr. Johnson. His monumental volume on *The Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry* was received with great cordiality, and praised both for its intrinsic worth and for the careful way in which it was prepared. . . . The present volume is a storehouse of material which cannot fail to be of the greatest service to future biographers. Mr. Reade deserves our thanks for his labour of love."

THE BOOKMAN.—"The author is already well known to Johnsonian scholars for his elaborate work on *The Reades of Blackwood Hill*. The qualities that distinguished the latter work, vast industry and genealogical enthusiasm, are equally apparent in this much smaller volume."

BIRMINGHAM DAILY POST.—"Mr. Reade is indefatigable in Johnsonian research. He supplements and expands here some of the information in that notable large volume of his, *The Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*. It is wonderful how much light he has been able to throw into obscure corners of personal history."

THE ATHENÆUM.—"This thin volume, as the first of an intended series of Johnsonian monographs, will be welcomed by readers of the author's work on *The Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*. . . . Notable features are the full and precise index and seven plates."

YORKSHIRE OBSERVER.—"It is a mine of wealth for the annotation of Boswell."

DUNDEE COURIER.—"Mr. A. L. Reade, the well-known Johnsonian scholar and antiquary, has published the first part of a new series of notes and comments on matters connected with the great lexicographer, whose bicentenary has just been celebrated at Lichfield. In this part he includes a remarkably interesting collection of notes on Dr. Johnson's ancestors and connexions, and illustrative of his early life. In these will be found a perfect mine of out-of-the-way information set forth in a pleasant, readable manner."

BRISTOL DAILY MERCURY.—"This well-printed and neatly-bound quarto volume. . . . Mr. Reade has already done valuable work in the same field, . . . and these new memoranda, bearing evidence of diligent mining and careful compilation, will be gratefully read by Johnson lovers. Seven unpublished portraits, beautifully produced, of members of the Johnson circle at Lichfield, add to the attractions of the work, while an excellent index contributes to ease of reference."

GLASGOW HERALD.—"It only remains to add that a series of extremely interesting portraits adorn the little volume, and that notes on the illustrations are appended, while the reference apparatus is so complete that for every three pages of text there is a page of index."

LIVERPOOL COURIER.—"We have, however, received one book that is really the result of first-hand research—a book, moreover, that promises to be only the prelude to a further batch of original explorations into Johnson's life and circumstances. . . . Mr. Reade has followed up the orthodox Johnsonian biography with a hawk's eye for trifles hitherto unconsidered, and has gathered together a wonderful collection of details and fragments of the great life which began at Lichfield on September 18, 1709. . . . The Johnsonian field, we imagine, will at last be bare when Mr. Reade has finished gleaning it."

DAILY CHRONICLE.—"Three years ago Mr. A. L. Reade gave us one of the most elaborate and important works upon Dr. Johnson that has been attempted since Boswell's 'Life.' It dealt with the ancestry of 'the great Cham,' and was produced regardless of time, toil, and money . . . and as a fitting compliment to the bicentenary celebration he now presents a volume of further gleanings. It is a book crowded with newly discovered facts, and to the Johnsonian student one which cannot be done without. . . . It is a volume worthy of the occasion, and all who care a rap for the occasion ought to welcome it."

WESTMINSTER REVIEW.—"Mr. Reade has proved himself to be a pains-taking and accurate genealogist, and the labour, no less than the expense, these researches must necessarily have entailed, is simply astounding."

MORNING LEADER.—"Mr. Lyell Reade displays . . . an industry and care worthy of the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' . . . It has a perfect index and many admirably reproduced illustrations."

BIRMINGHAM GAZETTE.—"Mr. Reade has, by dint of much research, collected many illuminating details of the early life and education of Johnson himself, and much about his kinsfolk and friends. . . . They bring to light many new facts that will be full of interest to students of Johnson's life. They enlarge the Johnson circle and establish new relationships and friendships of the Doctor and his friends. It is a well-arranged and excellently illustrated book."

STAFFORDSHIRE ADVERTISER.—“There is no one to whom Johnsonians in general, and Lichfield in particular, is more indebted than that diligent and generous master of research, Mr. Aleyn Lyell Reade. . . . Neither time nor money is spared by him, and his investigations are carried out with a thoroughness and completeness which are really astonishing. Much as he has accomplished in the great work which will ever be associated with his name, the mine, however, is by no means exhausted, and Mr. Reade is going cheerily on with his researches.

. . . We warmly commend this first part of ‘Johnsonian Gleanings’ to the public, and shall await with great eagerness and interest the second part, the subject of which is to be Francis Barber, the Doctor’s negro servant, and which is to contain the fruits of still further curious research by this zealous and indefatigable investigator.”

MANCHESTER COURIER.—“Mr. Reade is sealed of the tribe of Johnson, and his researches are marked alike by sympathy and acuteness. Every admirer of Dr. Johnson will appreciate the result of the author’s labour of love.”

DENBIGH FREE PRESS.—“The book contains seven unpublished portraits of members of the Johnsonian circle at Lichfield, and shows signs of the same diligent labour, original research, and minute and painstaking accuracy as does the author’s monumental work, *The Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson’s Ancestry*.”

THE SCOTSMAN.—“His latest work is characterized by the same minute care in verifying his facts, and the same scrupulous attention to detail, that marked the larger volume, and to all devout Johnsonians—who should be further attracted by reproductions of seven hitherto unpublished portraits of members of the Lichfield circle of the distinguished lexicographer—it should prove deeply interesting.”

SUSSEX DAILY NEWS.—“Mr. Reade is an acknowledged authority on the subject, and no one could have done the work with more loving diligence.”

Some copies of Part I remain, and can be had from the author at

PARK CORNER,

BLUNDELLSANDS,

NR LIVERPOOL,

price 6s. post free to all parts of the world.

PR
3533
R4
pt.2

Reade, Aleyn Lyell
Johnsonian gleanings

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
